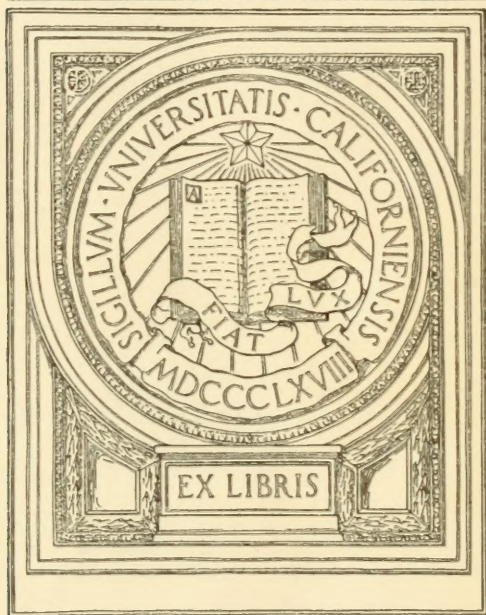


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INDUSTRY AND PROPERTY:

A Plea for Truth and Honesty in Economics,
and for Liberty and Justice in
Social Reform.

BEING A DISCUSSION OF PRESENT-DAY LABOUR PROBLEMS,
WITH PROPOSALS FOR THEIR SOLUTION, COUNSELS
TO EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED, AND WARNINGS
TO STATESMEN, POLITICIANS, AND SOCIAL
REFORMERS.

BY

GEORGE BROOKS

*(Formerly Minister of Robert Street Church, Grosvenor Square,
London, W., Liberal Candidate for Durham in 1886, etc.)*

VOLUME II.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
MELLS LODGE, HALESWORTH, SUFFOLK.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

The Earl of Wemyss,

WHO HAS STEADFASTLY RESISTED THE INSIDIOUS ADVANCES INTO
ENGLISH POLITICS OF IRRATIONAL AND DESTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM,
AND STRENUOUSLY UPHELD THE
SANCTITY OF PERSONAL FREEDOM AND THE SECURITY
OF INDIVIDUAL PROPRIETORSHIP;
TO WHOSE FORESIGHT AND ENERGY THE MOVEMENT AGAINST
SOCIALISTIC TYRANNY IN ENGLAND MAINLY OWES
ITS INCEPTION AND GROWTH;
AND WHOSE KINDNESS OF HEART AND TRUE SYMPATHY WITH
THE POOR ARE NOT LESS CONSPICUOUS TO THOSE WHO
HAVE THE HONOUR OF HIS ACQUAINTANCE
THAN HIS ZEAL FOR THOSE GREAT PRINCIPLES WHICH LIE AT
THE BASIS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND OF NATIONAL
WELL-BEING,

This Work is Dedicated

AS A HUMBLE TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT

BY THE

AUTHOR.

245998

SYNOPSIS OF THE WORK.

EVERYWHERE throughout this work the following fundamental principles are either expressed or implied :

1.—That the interference of the State with the conditions of Adult Male Labour, except for the protection of workmen from dangers to health and life, is unwise and injurious ; the regulation of the hours and wages of such labourers being altogether outside and beyond the function of Government.

2.—That the tendency of a people to transfer to the shoulders of the State responsibilities which ought to be borne by the individual citizen is a sure symptom of national decay.

3.—That Capital has its rights no less than Labour ; that Labour has its duties as well as Capital.

4.—That the first right of Labour is that it should be Free ; while the first right of Capital is that it should be Secure.

5.—That both Capital and Labour have the right to combine their forces for legitimate ends ; but that both should exercise this right in subordination to the higher rights of the community at large ; and that any combination, either of Labour or Capital, which seeks to use its power for selfish and sectional ends, against the common weal, is illegitimate and reprehensible.

6.—That it is the inherent right of every labourer to dispose of his labour as he thinks fit, without coercion from others, and that correlatively every employer has the inherent right

to manage his business according to his own convictions, without dictation from outsiders.

7.—That Capital and Labour are inter-related and inter-dependent, and to some extent *identical*, inasmuch as Capital itself is Labour in another form, being that part of Labour which has been *accumulated* in the past to supply the needs of the present: that the capitalist is himself a labourer; that therefore, Capital and Labour cannot truly be antagonists, whose interests lie in divergent and opposing directions, but must always really be allies and co-adjutors, whose fundamental and ultimate aims are the same, however much their immediate interests may *appear* to differ; and that, consequently, a state of war between them is unnatural and irrational.

8.—That Labour is the instrument which Capital (or past Labour) uses in the work of production.

9.—That wages consist of that portion of the profit of production which the workman contracts to receive as his *full and final* share of the results earned by the conjoined efforts of Labour and Capital.

10.—That neither Capital nor Labour primarily gives value to commodities, but only an effective demand for those commodities on the part of those who desire them.

11.—That an employer, whose interests are bound up with those of his workmen, is, on every principle of reason and common-sense, likely to prove a truer friend to those workmen than a professional agitator who has no interests in common with the workmen, and whose chief concern may be to serve himself by exploiting them.

12.—That Labour conflicts and strikes can be avoided only by the exercise of a large and tolerant spirit on the part of employers, and by the growth of an intelligent and reasonable temper among workmen.

BOOK I.

**Recent Developments of the Labour Movement—
Historical.**

Chapter 1.—The Great Dock Strike.

- „ 2.—Smaller Dock Strikes and Miscellaneous Trade Conflicts.
- „ 3.—Railway and Omnibus Strikes.
- „ 4.—Insubordination in the Public Services.
- „ 5.—How Socialism is permeating our Literature, Legislation and Politics, and the Attitude of our Public men in relation thereto.

BOOK II.

Proposed Legal and Political Solutions of Labour Problems; or the Relations of Politics and Law to Capital and Labour.

Chapter 1.—The Limitations of Law.

- „ 2.—Recent Action of Parliament on Labour Questions.
- „ 3.—The Demand for an Eight Hours' Law.
- „ 4.—The Dangerous Consequences of Legal Interference with Contracts, Accumulations, and Exchanges.
- „ 5.—Manhood, not Law, the Great Desideratum.
(The above chapters appeared in Volume I.)

BOOK III.

Proposed Revolutionary and Socialistic Solutions of Labour Problems; or the relation of Democracy to Liberty and Property.

Chapter 1.—The Socialistic Spirit.

- „ 2.—Socialistic Dreamers and their Delusions.
- „ 3.—Warnings from History and Experience.
- „ 4.—Grave Dangers Ahead, arising from the Time-serving Spirit of our Political Parties.
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BOOK IV.

**The True Solution of Labour Problems, Economical
and Moral; or the Wisdom of Profiting
by Past Experience.**

Chapter 1.—Individualism the True Antidote to Socialism.

„ 2.—The True Socialism.

„ 3.—Combinations of Workmen and of Capitalists.

„ 4.—The Application of the Christian Virtues to
the Solution of the Industrial Problems of
our Times.

„ 5.—A Summary and a Forecast.



PREFACE.

IT commonly falls to the lot of an author to be misunderstood, although he may have taken more than ordinary pains to make his meaning clear as noonday. This has happened to the present writer in respect of the first volume of this work, in which some of his critics, and in particular one of them, have professed to find evidence of his being an extremist on the subject of Socialism. Now as regards this charge, the writer would regard it as rather creditable to him than otherwise if its truth could be established; for he is glad to avow that he hates Socialism with a hatred exceeding deep and bitter. At the same time he prides himself upon his freedom from fanaticism and irrationality in the expression of his views, and upon his desire to be scrupulously just even towards the men whose principles he is bound to oppose and denounce. Certainly he was satisfied that he had stated his attitude towards Socialism in such unequivocal terms that no person of ordinary intelligence could possibly misapprehend it.

Nevertheless the critic above referred to, whose spirit otherwise was not only fair but friendly, permitted himself to speak of Volume I. of this work in the following terms :

“Of course, like all extremists, Mr. Brooks pushes his case too far. Carried out logically to the bitter end, his principles would render society impossible. Society begins when men recognise that they cannot do as they like regardless of the wishes of others; and the very rights Mr. Brooks claims for all men can only be claimed on the ground that the interests of the community as a

whole are promoted by them. Individualism, pure and simple, is merely a polysyllabic word for the liberty of every man to do as he pleases ; and obviously Robinson Crusoe, before Man Friday turned up, was the only man who had a chance of giving the system a fair trial. Under things as they are, certain limits have been placed on the activities of men. Socialism claims to narrow those limits—to bring within the scope of things forbidden many that are now classed as things permissible or even laudable. It is a waste of time invoking general dicta as to the rights of man as a means of settling the question. Each case must be decided on its own merits. If general happiness and prosperity will be promoted by forbidding what has hitherto been allowed, it will be forbidden ; if not, not. Certainly Mr. Brooks may claim that in many instances he has gone far towards proving that evil rather than good may be expected to follow from allowing full swing to many of the tendencies of the day.

“ At times he has allowed himself to use arguments which are really two-edged weapons, and might be retorted upon him with dire effect by a skilful enemy. To assume that labour leaders must of necessity be untrustworthy, because they may be fairly supposed to have personal ends of their own to serve, is to impugn the honour of practically every public man in the country. Men act from mixed motives, and the desire of fame or of wealth generally mingles with undoubted disinterested wishes to be of service to others. The selfless man may exist, but we are content to recognise that all men have an axe to grind ; and whether they be labour leaders or would-be Cabinet Ministers, it is absurd to condemn them on that account. All depends on the way the grinding is done. Would Mr. Brooks maintain that a curate must necessarily be dishonest, because in doing his work with heart and soul, he cherishes the hope that he may one day be fortunate enough to wear the episcopal lawn ? ” *

In answer to the above criticism the author deems it

* *Commerce*, July 12, 1893.

sufficient to quote the following sentences from his first volume : *

“ The truth is that it is impossible for any man to be an Individualist, in the literal sense of that term, unless, like Robinson Crusoe, he inhabits an island absolutely alone. Such a man, living a solitary life, doing everything for himself, and depending upon no other human being for any office or service whatsoever, would be literally an Individualist. No man can be this who is a member of a community, and who is related to other members of the community as husband, father, son, servant, master, or in any other way ; such a man must be content to do and bear some things as a consequence of his association with others which he would not bear or do were he free from that association. The late Charles Bradlaugh said : ‘ I am an Individualist *as far as one can wisely be so in such a country as our own.* If I were in the great North-West of the Dominion, far away from Ottawa or Montreal, or if I were in Western Australia, 500 miles or more from Perth, I should be still more Individualist.’ And so say many of us.

“ Clearly, therefore, when a member of a civilised community claims to be an Individualist, he does not use the term Individualism in the bare and naked sense in which it would apply to a Crusoe. What he means is that the individual should be asked to give up so much of his freedom in the interests of the community as is necessary for the order and progress of the community ; that, *and no more* ; or, in other words, that personal freedom should be limited only by such restrictions as are found to be essential to the peace and prosperity of the whole society. It will be found in practice that such limitations and restrictions as these are compatible with the exercise and enjoyment of complete individual freedom. The authority of the Government and the liberty of the subject are in no

* See INDUSTRY AND PROPERTY, Vol. I, pp. 161-162, Library Edition.

wise fundamentally opposed to each other. Where there is no law there is no liberty. Perfect freedom is perfect obedience to a perfect law. It is in a society ordered and governed by law, and not in a society without law, that individual freedom can attain its fullest development and its noblest fruition.

“We are all Socialists, therefore, in the sense that we wish to see those works (and no others) which cannot be carried out by individual enterprise undertaken by the Government; for where an undertaking, which is necessary and beneficial, is clearly beyond the ability and the scope of private exertion there can be no infringement of the rights or the privileges of the individual in such an undertaking being carried on by the State.”

The *Times*, in reviewing Volume I. of this work, took exception to the author's method of presenting his subject, which it characterised as putting the cart before the horse, and then it continued :

“A critical examination of Modern Socialism and a reasoned exposition of a system of Individualism opposed to it would be of more value at the present juncture than the prolonged historical and polemical disquisitions which form the main staple of Mr. Brooks's two books now published. Socialism, in one form or another, is everywhere in the air, even if it cannot as yet be said to hold the field. Socialists, practical and theoretical, profess to have a great deal to say for themselves. It is less profitable to denounce them than to refute them. In his present volume Mr. Brooks, for the most part, takes their refutation for granted, as indeed, his method and order of proceeding compel him to do. In a Synopsis prefixed to the work Mr. Brooks enumerates twelve fundamental principles as everywhere either expressed or implied in it. Of these the first two are as follows :—

1. That the interference of the State with the conditions of adult male labour, except for the protection of workmen from

dangers to health and life, is unwise and injurious, the regulation of the hours and wages of such labourers being altogether outside and beyond the function of Government.

2. That the tendency of a people to transfer to the shoulders of the State responsibilities which ought to be borne by the individual citizen is a sure symptom of national decay.

“If these propositions be granted, it is obvious that Socialism in most of its modern forms stands condemned. But they are not self-evident, and there are many among us, both practical statesmen and economical thinkers, who would not call themselves Socialists nor readily accept Socialism as a theory, and yet would hesitate to assent to them without demur and without qualification. If Mr. Brooks can make good these propositions, as against the Socialism, practical and theoretical, of the day, he will do no small service to the community. Even as matters stand, these two books constitute a very formidable and vigorous polemic against the prevailing Socialistic tendencies of our time. But they are rather polemical than dialectical in tone.”

With all due deference to so august a critic, the author is not convinced that he was in error in dealing with the matter in the way he did. His first volume was designed to exhibit Socialism at work through the Labour movement in this country, and thereby to convince his readers that the matter is one of urgent practical importance. Amid the circumstances of a different time it might have been preferable to commence the work by what *The Times* calls “a critical examination of modern Socialism and a reasoned exposition of a system of Individualism opposed to it”; but when the work was undertaken great industries were paralysed by strikes, which strikes were the work of Socialist agitators, and it seemed desirable to first of all collect and collate the facts in relation to those strikes, before they faded from the public recollection. The author, therefore, although he recognised that on merely academic

grounds it would have been better to reverse the order in which he presented his work, chose to subordinate symmetry of form in order to make the work more immediately and more practically useful. However, in the present volume he essays, not indeed the great task to which *The Times* invites him in full, but at all events to advance such a case against Socialism as to convince the ordinary reader that it is fallacious in theory and would be—if it could be adopted—disastrous in practice.

Since the preparation of this work was entered upon a thousand events have combined to emphasize the necessity and importance of refuting and opposing Socialism with the utmost diligence and earnestness. Society is threatened to its very foundations, and its enemies must be resolutely met in the battle-field. These enemies are of various orders; some use the dynamiter's bomb, others the assassin's dagger, still others the envenomed tongue of the agitator: but they possess several features in common, among them being hatred and envy of the rich, flattery and bamboozlement of the poor, ignorance of human nature and of human history, and contempt of the laws of God. The rancour and malignity which are now belched forth against the well-to-do classes from those whose mouth is "an open sepulchre" would astound people who do not give special attention to these questions. Not only is this done spasmodically in times of great excitement and suffering, such as strikes and labour wars, but the villifying of the rich because they are rich and the bepraising of the poor because they are poor, and the attempt to inflame the worst passions of the one class against the other, are now pursued systematically and deliberately by some as a trade for a livelihood, by others as a means of procuring political support. The result is seen in the bad blood which has been created among us, and set

in circulation through the body-politic, where it is producing social disease of the most virulent type. Old England is sick unto death, and unless the poison be expelled from her veins her days are numbered. Those of her sons who yet remain whole must act as her physicians, and strenuously exert themselves to bring her back to a sane and a sound condition.

Symptoms of this disease abound on every hand. One of the most striking of those which have come under the notice of the author was in the shape of a letter which he received from a wealthy man who occupies a prominent position in London. This gentleman used the following extraordinary language :—

“ I consider your book is altogether in the wrong. *The capitalist class are the corrupters of civilisation, and if they are not first curbed and then crushed by the democratic party they will destroy civilisation. I will do my best to curb and crush them.*”

Now, verily, here is a marvellous thing: a gentleman who is himself a member of the detested capitalist class, and a considerable employer of labour, characterizes the said capitalist class as a plague and a curse. How can his language be sincere? Why has he joined the capitalist class? Why does he remain a member of it? It surely were easy for him to sell all that he has, give the proceeds to the poor, and go to work as a reporter or a compositor. Let him do that, and wash his hands of the capitalist class, and then people will believe in the sincerity of his denunciations. But while, like many another blatant Socialist, he prefers to cling to his position as a capitalist, to pocket the profits which accrue from that position, and to live in expensive West-end houses, surrounded by all the luxuries which wealth can procure, he must expect to be regarded by sensible men as a charlatan. If to be a capitalist is to be a

robber, as this gentleman's words above quoted seem to imply, then surely he who continues to consciously and deliberately appropriate to himself the proceeds of what he believes to be robbery is of all members of his class the most odious. It is no palliation of his offence that he plays the philanthropist; for on his own showing he is giving away what rightfully belongs to others and not to himself, and this is not conduct of which a just man can well be proud. To steal a turkey and give religion the giblets may be "cute" business, but it is certainly not common honesty, still less does it partake of that transcendental virtue which is supposed to be the fruit of personal piety. Philanthropy covers a multitude of sins, no doubt, but it can hardly justify a man in making money by the very methods which he denounces as immoral when pursued by others in order that he may pose prominently before the world as a benefactor of the masses.

The point to be noted, however, is that an educated and respectable English gentleman speaks of capitalists in language charged with a fanaticism bordering on insanity and with a hatred steeped and saturated in malignity. Capitalists—men who have money and use it for purposes of trade—are criminals, vermin, "corrupters of civilisation," who are to be "crushed." Crushing them is a meritorious thing. What is the next step? Why, that some man who is perhaps more ignorant, certainly more consistent and less cowardly, begins the work of extirpating the capitalist class by using dynamite bombs. Which is the greater criminal, the man who suggests the deed, or the man who performs it? Can we wonder at the acts of Ravachol and Vaillant, the French dynamiters, or of Cesario, the murderer of President Carnot, when men of culture and position traduce capitalists as "the corrupters of

civilisation " ? Carnot's assassination was exulted over by Socialists and Anarchists as " a blow struck at capitalism." On the day that these words were written the remains of President Carnot were interred amid universal demonstrations of sorrow, and *The Times*, drawing from the event the lesson that the time has come when the doctrines of Anarchy ought to be more vigorously combated, used these significant words :—

" But, in whatever way they are to be combated, it is plain that the time has come for more complete international co-operation in putting down a common enemy, for greater stringency in dealing with the known apostles of Anarchist doctrines, *and perhaps even for a little greater discouragement of the more cautious propagandists of social disorder, who too often lay the foundation on which Anarchists build.*"

It is " the cautious propagandists of social disorder " who constitute the real danger. The Fabian Society is a more serious source of mischief than the Autonomie Club. Socialism makes Anarchy possible; Anarchy is Socialism in its ripest development—in spite of all that may be said about the distinction between the two in the abstract ; and therefore it is the part of wise men to prevent Socialism coming to fruition. Where is the wisdom of permitting evil seed to be sown, and then going to infinite pains and cost to destroy the crop which it has produced ? Assuredly it were far better to burn up the seed, as far as that is possible. The fact that but little can be done by law, or by the Executive Government, to suppress the pernicious propaganda which is being prosecuted in the name of Socialism, should surely act as an incentive to intelligent citizens to make use of all the educational and moral machinery within their reach to counteract this growing mischief. At present the disposition of the average citizen with regard to

this whole matter is far too easy-going. He thinks that Socialism can never gain much of a foot-hold among the common-sense people of Great Britain. That may prove to be a fatal mistake. Twenty-five years ago such an opinion might have been reasonably entertained ; but many things have happened since then. With the Irish legislation of the last few years before our eyes, and the evidence that Socialism is constantly encroaching upon every department of the citizen's life, it is difficult to conceive how any man can believe that the triumph of Socialism in this country is impossible. Anything is possible in these times if political wirepullers and their dupes are allowed to work their will. The author of this volume, at all events, is fully persuaded that England stands in greater peril at present from Socialistic quacks and their nostrums than from any or all other causes besides ; that, indeed, this danger is far more serious than any of those which have come upon her in the past through outward attack and invasion ; and that it will require all the sagacity and courage of her wisest sons to bring her safely through this crisis. If this volume should inform patriotic and honest citizens as to the nature and the working of the evil which threatens us, and arouse them to a sense of their duty and their responsibility in opposing it, the author will experience the satisfaction of having borne some humble part in repelling that unnatural and monstrous system which would lay its deathly hand upon the very heart of his beloved country, paralyse all her energies and activities, and blight those great qualities of character which have made Englishmen the wonder and the envy of the world.

MELLS LODGE,

HALESWORTH, SUFFOLK.

July 2, 1894.

NOTE.—For the information of those who have not read the first volume of this work it may be here stated that two main divisions of the work were dealt with in that volume. Book I. (five chapters) was Historical, as it indicated and described the developments which the Labour Question has undergone during the last two or three years, and dealt at length with the various strikes which have occurred during that period. Book II. (five chapters) was Legal and Political, and treated of the remedies which it is proposed to apply to the solution of labour problems through Law and Politics. Book III., which is now entered upon, may also be described as Political and Legal, and it deals with those revolutionary methods of dealing with the Labour Question which are in high favour with the bulk of the Socialists. Book IV., which concludes the work, may be described as Economical and Moral, and it endeavours to set forth the true solution of labour problems in accordance with the well-established principles of economics and also with the principles of Christianity.

BOOK III.

PROPOSED REVOLUTIONARY AND
SOCIALISTIC SOLUTIONS
OF LABOUR PROBLEMS; OR THE
RELATION OF DEMOCRACY TO
LIBERTY. AND PROPERTY.

“The verdict of experience, in the imperfect degree of moral cultivation which mankind has yet reached, is that the motive of conscience and that of credit and reputation, even when they are of some strength, are, in the majority of cases, much stronger as restraining than as impelling forces—are more to be depended upon for preventing wrong than for calling forth the fullest energies in the pursuit of ordinary occupations. In the case of most men the only inducement which has been found sufficiently constant and unflagging to overcome the ever-present influence of indolence and love of ease, and induce men to apply themselves unrelaxingly to work for the most part in itself dull and unexciting, is the prospect of bettering their own economic condition and that of their family; and the closer the connection of every increase of exertion with a corresponding increase of its fruits, the more powerful is this motive. To suppose the contrary would be to imply that with men as they now are, duty and honour are more powerful principles of action than personal interest, not solely as to special acts and forbearances respecting which these sentiments have been exceptionally cultivated, but in the regulation of their whole lives; which no one, I suppose, will affirm. . . . The question is whether there would be any asylum left for individuality of character; whether public opinion would not be a tyrannical yoke; whether the absolute dependence of each on all, and surveillance of each by all, would not grind all down into a tame uniformity of thoughts, feelings, and actions. This is already one of the glaring evils of the existing state of society; notwithstanding a much greater diversity of education and pursuits, and a much less absolute independence of the individual on the mass, than would exist in the communistic *régime*. No society in which eccentricity is a matter of reproach can be in a wholesome state.”

—John Stuart Mill.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOCIALISTIC SPIRIT.

THE spirit which animates Socialism is no new thing. In one form or another it has existed among men ever since the world began. It is a good many centuries since Seneca said: "If two words were not in the world, men would live in concord without any war; these words are 'mine and thine!'" The heathen philosopher appears, however, to have mistaken ideas for words. What he should have said was—"If two *ideas* were not in the world," etc.; for obviously the words "mine and thine" represent things, or thinkings; they are but signs which stand for fundamental conceptions of the human mind.

But in its modern manifestation, in the form which it presents to us, Socialism may be said to be the offspring of the French Revolution; it was a reaction from the galling tyranny and the grievous oppression which prevailed in France at that period. The common people, condemned and down-trodden, were goaded to madness, and in their madness they gave rein to the ferocious and diabolical passions which had been burning within their hearts for years, and swept away the existing social order, slaying monarchs and nobles, clergy and gentry, and also many of the middle classes, in wholesale, indiscriminate, ghastly butchery. The Reign of Terror was the vengeance of the many, whose lives had been rendered intolerable, upon the few who had heaped upon them insult and injustice. Terrible as the event was, it was not at all wonderful that it should occur; it was the natural outgrowth of the conditions which then prevailed in France. Assuredly something out of the common order might be expected to

happen in a country where the law allowed a seigneur on his return from hunting to kill two serfs—not more than two—that their warm blood might form a bath for his weary feet ; where the rich sportsman might legally vary his exalted pastimes by shooting at plumbers and slaters, and enjoy the spectacle of their rolling down the roofs ! If there be a God in Heaven, especially if He be a God who undertakes the cause of the needy and the oppressed, something awful was bound to happen in a country like that. Small blame, therefore, to the miserable wretches who at last aroused themselves to strike for some of the rights and dignities of manhood and womanhood ; but blame infinite and eternal to the oppressors who had robbed them of every vestige of their human birthright. Under all the circumstances it is not surprising that some have felt disposed to sing praises even to the French Revolution.

In that great cataclysm the principles which constituted the basis of society, all ordinary notions concerning the rights of the individual and the functions of the State, the nature of property and of civil society, were thrown into the melting pot : and some of them came out again in very distorted and grotesque shapes. One of the things which came out of that crucible was Socialism as we know it. The French Philosophers, headed by Rousseau, picked these ideas out of the seething pot and hammered them out afresh, giving to some of them very fantastic forms indeed. The brilliant idea of these wise men was that it would be good for civilisation to cease and for mankind to return to the savage, or, as they called it, the natural state, in which primitive equality would reign, and no man would be able to boast of owning the earth or any part of it, while all men would revel in the freedom of gathering the fruits of the earth (when they could find any). Clearly there was no room in this “philosophy” for the idea of property as ordinarily understood. Of that idea these profound thinkers made short work. Rousseau settled the matter by declaring that every man had a natural right to whatever he needed.

The fact that he needed it was proof enough that it belonged to him, and sufficient justification for his taking it. Brissot, another of the school, stated that "exclusive property was theft," both in the natural and civilised states.

Joseph Babœuf, who was guillotined in 1797, has been called "the father of modern Socialism." This man appears to have set himself with all the ardour of a fanatic to systematize and propagate the ideas which Rousseau and Brissot had left floating in society, using for this purpose a journal which he founded. He organised a secret conspiracy, the object of which was to overturn society and the Government, and establish a true democratic republic, in which the State was to be sole proprietor of everything (and everybody), and was to divide all property in equal shares, so that there should be neither rich nor poor, neither high nor low. The "surplus population" (even under Socialism it seems that there are people who are not wanted) was to be "removed," the landlords being the first to go. Evidently some of our latter-day agitators are mere copies of Babœuf.

From France the Socialistic infection quickly spread to Germany, in which country Socialism probably counts more adherents than in any other country of Europe, notwithstanding the fact that the Germans have set a splendid example of self-help to other nations through such movements as the co-operative credit banks founded by Schulze-Delitzsch. The explanation of this apparent anomaly is to be found in the anomalous conditions which exist in Germany, where on the one hand the landed proprietors are numerous (over a million of them being peasant proprietors), and half the population are employed in agriculture, whilst on the other hand the people are heavily taxed, although millions of them are in receipt of less than twenty-five pounds a year, and they suffer heavily under the conscription. On the whole Socialism found in Germany a soil little less congenial than that of its native country—France.

German Socialism is inseparably bound up with the personalities of Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx, who gave it form and expression, and breathed into it their own spirit and life. Both these men were Jews. And here we may pause a moment to consider the remarkable and significant fact that modern Socialism owes its vitality, and almost its very existence, to men of the Hebrew race and faith. The bearing of this fact upon the subject has been commonly overlooked, and yet it goes to the very root and heart of the matter. M. de Laveleye has pointed out two curious facts : one is that the great Socialist leaders have been Jews, and that the Jewish community has always formed very impressionable material for Socialistic agitators to work upon ; the other is that it is only in Christian countries that Socialism has been able to gain a foothold. There is no antagonism in this condition of things ; for Judaism was, and Christianity is, a true and a Divine religion ; both are animated by a spirit of pity and tenderness towards the distressed and the suffering, and both denounce the oppressor in words of burning indignation, and champion the cause of the weak and of "him that hath no helper." Nevertheless, the Jew and the Christian do not, and cannot, occupy common ground in relation to social questions, at all events when religion is brought into the case, for they stand leagues apart, and consequently their points of view are essentially dissimilar. The Jew, by virtue of his religion, is necessarily somewhat of a Socialist, inasmuch as the Law of Moses, which is to him the only Divine Law, is Socialistic in many of its provisions with regard to the land and the poor of the people, and also with regard to the priesthood and the Temple worship. The Christian, by virtue of his religion, which has superseded the Law and the Prophets, is necessarily an Individualist, inasmuch as the predominant principle of Christianity is the ennobling and the exaltation of *personality*. Through the Gospel a Personal Saviour appeals to the person, the man, the individual ; the salvation offered must be received personally, by each man for himself, and not by

proxy ; the fruits of grace must be brought forth in personal character, no *status* in the Christian community being able to compensate for the lack of individual godliness. With the Jew nationality and religion are identical ; to be a Jew in blood is to be of the faith of Abraham ; by circumcision in infancy the Jewish child is made a member of the Church. In the case of the Christian there are no features to correspond with these. Of whatever blood or nation a man may be, if he repent of his sins, believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and obey Him, he thereby becomes a Christian. With the Jew the theocracy, the system, the community, is everything ; with the Christian the Personal Christ is everything. Moreover, with the Jew the Great Deliverer has yet to come ; he still looks for the Messiah who is to set the captives free ; and he longs and works for social upheavals which shall bring him salvation. What wonder that the Jew, suffering under the cruelty and ignominy which have too often been heaped upon him in so-called Christian countries, should wildly and savagely denounce the present order of things and cry loudly for a reconstruction of society which should better his bitter lot ? The Christian, however, believes that the Messiah has come ; that humanity's redemption has been wrought out ; and that it only remains for each individual to appropriate to himself the great salvation by faith and effort. Hence the spirit of the true Christian is one of resignation and contentment, combined however with a striving after such improvement in his condition as may be possible and permissible. If there are miseries in his lot, he has learnt how to extract blessedness even out of them. Sincere followers of the Lord Jesus Christ could never have been the creators of Socialism ; but it is easy to perceive how Jews may have played such a part.*

* The Anti-Semitic movement which has assumed such large dimensions on the Continent of Europe of late years has been called into being by the action of the Jews in

Lassalle was a disciple of Hegel, as Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin were also Hegel's disciples, and from this philosopher these men learned much of their erroneous and pestilent teaching. Like some other Socialists, Lassalle was a vain-glorious and effeminate man, fond of luxury and self-indulgence. Despite his vapourings against property and its owners, he was not at all averse to the enjoyment of six hundred pounds a year, which was settled upon him by a lady whose cause he had served. It is surprising how (professionally) sympathetic a man can be towards the poor when he is assured against the possibility of falling into their ranks. Lassalle loved gay society, had a pretty taste in wines, and gave sumptuous and luxurious dinners. How like a Socialist ! Heine, who was a friend of his, described him as "a genuine son of the new era, *without even the*

promoting Socialism. It is in Germany and Austria that the Anti-Semitic propaganda is strongest and most virulent ; it is precisely in those countries also that Socialism, especially Jewish Socialism, is strongest. The founders of the Social Democratic party in Germany were, and its prominent members are, Jews ; many Nihilists and Anarchists are Jews also. The Anti-Semitic party charge the Jews, not only with being promoters of hostility towards Christianity, but also with being the instigators and leaders of all Socialist and revolutionary movements, and they even affirm that the "sinews of war" are supplied to the enemies of society by wealthy Jews. What truth there is in this charge cannot be ascertained. But it is certain that Socialists and Anarchists must be supplied with funds, and it has always been a mystery where they come from. Of course the Anti-Semitic movement, and persecution of the Jews generally, are utterly unjustifiable ; but if Jews make war upon society through Socialism, etc., they must expect society to make war upon them. And all is fair in war. Wealthy Jews would do well to disavow all sympathy with revolutionary movements, for in the present critical state of opinion in Europe a crusade might easily break out against revolutionary Jews which would produce results of the most awful nature.

pretence of modesty or self-denial, who will assert and enjoy himself in the world of realities." Lassalle was a clever, able, and unscrupulous man; he was also an eloquent, powerful, and popular public speaker, and he has been described as "the orator of Socialism." He taught that all the instruments of production, and everything produced by them, ought to be taken out of the hands of private owners and held in common, and that industry ought in future to be conducted on the collective principle, the whole proceeds of labour going to the working classes. His chief distinction as a Socialist is that he made a strong plea against "the iron economic law of wages," which he denounced on the ground that it robbed the workman of a large share of the product of his labour. Lassalle was powerfully influenced by Fichte. This philosopher taught that every man has a right to live, and therefore to the opportunity to earn a living. Consequently, if a man has no opportunity to earn a living he may, and must, steal; in which case theft is not theft, but is in the nature of reprisal against society, which has failed to secure him the natural right to which he is entitled, viz., the right to life. A man's absolute property is his life, and in order to enjoy that he must live by his labour; if he cannot do that he is no longer under obligation to respect the property of any other man. The State has not secured him his property; why should other people keep their's? This doctrine appeared in our Police-courts when Henry Bruce broke the windows of Mr. Benson, the Ludgate-hill jeweller, on the ground that he was starving. It has also been preached incessantly to the "unemployed" upon Tower Hill. There is reason to believe, too, that it has distinctly influenced some of our legislators. Of course it is both false and wicked. A man who cannot work, or get work, has a right to live, truly; we acknowledge that in our Poor-law; but to live as a pauper, and not as a thief. Which is the more degrading? Socialism says that pauperism is.

Lassalle's Socialism was moderate as compared with that

of some others. He was not an internationalist, as he believed that the people of each country should settle their own social questions in their own way, and not that the peoples of various countries should make common cause against authority. Moreover, he was willing to introduce Socialism gradually, by the expedient of forming "Productive Associations," which were to gradually supplant the capitalist and the employer, being aided thereunto by the State. Lassalle, after planning an armed insurrection (for which he was imprisoned), and founding "The Universal German Working Men's Association," died somewhat ignominiously at the age of thirty-nine (in 1864) as the result of a duel over a love affair. He lies in the Jewish burial ground at Breslau, and over his grave there is the inscription—"Lassalle—Thinker and Fighter." It is not recorded of him that he ever suffered any pangs of remorse on account of his enjoyment of six hundred pounds a year, or that he ever grew weary of it and gave it to the poor.

Marx was a man of a very different type from Lassalle. He has been styled "the father of scientific Socialism," and his work on Capital is spoken of as "the Socialist's Bible." Like Lassalle, he was a Hegelian, and among his friends were Feuerbach, Heine, and Bakunin. He was expelled from Paris, and subsequently from Brussels, on account of the violent and dangerous character of his opinions, and then (as such men usually do) he settled in London (no man can be too dangerous for us here), where he took part in founding the International, which was a revolutionary association, the leaders of which cordially sympathised with the Paris Commune. When this body split up into two sections Marx became the leader of the Centralist Democratic Socialists, whose leading principle was that under Collectivism one great central authority, armed with the power to enforce its decisions, would be necessary to secure co-operative production. Marx's chief teachings were that capital is created solely by the labourer, and should therefore belong to him alone; that there can be no

peace between capital and labour ; that the capitalist should be expropriated ; and that machinery, and industrial improvements generally, are all against the labourer. Marx died in 1883, leaving as his legacy to mankind a body of Socialistic teaching which abounds in visionary and delusive ideas, and which may be characterised as a monument of misdirected ability and industry.

There are two other Continental Socialists whom it seems necessary to notice briefly, and these are Proudhon and Bakunin. The former is famous—or infamous—for the answer which he gave to the question which formed the title of his first work, “What is Property?” The answer was, “Property is Robbery.” Another of his great ideas was that any one man’s day’s work was equal to any other man’s day’s work, and that therefore no particular man should get more for his day’s work than any other man. He also laid down the Anarchist principle that “Government of man by man, in every form, is oppression.”

Bakunin has already been mentioned as a friend of Marx. Like Marx and Lassalle, he was a disciple of Hegel—a philosopher who seems to have exerted a most pernicious influence upon a number of able and ardent young men. Bakunin was a Russian, by birth a noble, and by profession an artillery officer. His head seems to have been turned by the study of Hegel, and he left the army and devoted himself to “literature.” At Paris he made the acquaintance of Proudhon, whose foolish and destructive views he eagerly imbibed. He was a revolutionist and conspirator of the most violent and dangerous type, and into both Italy and Spain he introduced a peculiarly noxious form of Socialism which is practically identical with Anarchism, and which has borne, and is bearing, deadly fruit in those countries. Bakunin was the active head of the Nihilists, and the Tzar and the chief Russian officials lived in constant dread of the revolutionary movement which he pushed forward with all the zeal of an apostle. Bakunin was imprisoned for eight years in Saxony, Austria, and Russia for his seditious acts,

and was afterwards exiled to Siberia for life. He escaped, however, through the clemency of a relative of his who was then Governor, and came to London (all such men find their way to London), whence he sent to Russia emissaries of the most extreme type. What manner of man he is may be judged by the following extract from his "Revolutionary Catechism":—

"The revolutionist is a man under a vow. He ought to have no personal interests, no business, no sentiments, no property. He ought to occupy himself with one exclusive interest, with one thought, one passion: the revolution. He has only one aim, one science: destruction. For that and nothing but that he studied mechanics, physics, chemistry, and medicine. He despises and hates existing morality. For him everything is moral that favours the triumph of the revolution; everything is immoral and criminal that hinders it. Between him and society there is war to the death, incessant, irreconcilable. He ought to be prepared to die, to bear torture, and to kill with his own hands all who obstruct the revolution. So much the worse for him if he has in this world any ties of parentage, friendships, or love! He is not a true revolutionist if these attachments stay his arm. In the meantime he ought to live in the middle of society, feigning to be what he is not. He ought to penetrate everywhere, among high and low alike: into the merchant's office, into the church, into the Government bureau, into the army, into the literary world, into the secret police, and even into the Imperial Palace. He must make a list of those condemned to death, and expedite their sentences according to the order of their relative iniquities. A new member can only be received into the association by a unanimous vote, and after giving proofs of his merit, not in words, but in action. Every companion ought to have under his hand several revolutionists of the second or third degree, not entirely initiated. He ought to consider them part of the revolutionary capital placed at his disposal, and he ought to use them economically,

and so as to extract the greatest possible profit out of them. The most precious element of all are women, completely initiated, and accepting our entire programme. Without their help we can do nothing."

It is not to be wondered at that Russian Socialism, which is largely the creation of Bakunin, should be of a most violent and revolutionary type, bordering indeed upon Anarchism. It is opposed to authority in every form, mocks at legislation, and holds that government in any shape "must always turn to the profit of a dominating and exploiting minority, against the interests of the great majority enslaved."

It will be observed that modern Socialism is essentially different from the Socialism which prevailed in this country during the first half of this century, and which is identified with the names of Robert Owen, Francis Wright, and others. Such Socialists as Owen did not ask the support of the State in carrying out their experiments, but depended upon their own resources and endeavours. These men, however mistaken they might be, were not ignorant demagogues or self-interested agitators, whose chief aim was to gain popularity and power and emoluments for themselves. They were quiet and earnest workers, devoting their money as well as their energy and ability, to the work which they believed it to be their duty and their privilege to do; and they toiled on year after year with great zeal and devotion, facing opposition and obloquy, and entirely at their own cost and risk. It is obvious that Socialistic efforts of that kind, carried out by a few individuals on a small scale, without any agitation or any hysterical appeals to the State for help, were not at all dangerous, especially as the working classes at that time had no direct share in the government of the country. Modern Socialism, so far as its methods are concerned, is the very antithesis of the Socialism of Robert Owen. Some humourist has made one of his characters say: "Now, if I understand correctly, the first principle of Socialism is to divide with your brother

man?" To which another character responds: "Then you don't understand correctly, for the first principle of Socialism is to make your brother man divide with you." There is a world of difference between the two views, and it is hardly putting it too strongly to say that the former view represents Owenism, and the latter present-day Socialism. The Owenites were more ready to give than to receive; the Socialists of to-day are eager to take everything and are averse to giving anything. The first principle of Owenism was voluntarism, the regeneration of society by moral means, without the aid of the State; the first principle of modern Socialism is coercion, the overthrow of existing social order by brute force, either in the form of battalions of voters or of revolutionists.* Latter-day Socialism has no idea at all of depending upon itself, or of risking its own resources in order to convince the world of the truth of its doctrine or of the beneficence of its practice. Quite the contrary. Its burning ambition is to seize and exercise the authority of the State in order to secure its own ends. Its modest demand is that all the wealth, land, mines, factories, railways, ships, in short all the resources of the country and all the means of production, should be placed under its control. For arrogance and audacity no man can compare with the modern Socialist. He demands that the existing social order shall be dissolved; that individual proprietary rights shall be abolished; and that all property of every kind shall be owned by the State: he is the enemy of law and government and the foe of all progress; he is opposed to all reform; and he declares his determination to use force, not only in the form of the sword or the rifle, but also in the form of dynamite, in order to overthrow the ruling classes.

*Under democratic government, or the tyranny of wire-pullers—which is virtually the same thing—the exercise of the franchise may be, and is, degraded to a form of brute force.

The truth of this will be made clear by what immediately follows.

The irrational and violent opinions which form the staple of modern Socialism all appear in the manifesto of the International Socialists which Marx and Engels wrote in 1848 at the request of their followers in London, and which has been ever since regarded by Socialists as a sort of Confession of Faith. This document declared : " The Communists do not seek to conceal their views and aims. They declare openly that their purpose can only be obtained by a violent overthrow of all existing arrangements of society. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletariat have nothing to lose in it but their chains ; they have a world to win. Proletarians of all countries, unite ! " The demands of this manifesto were the establishment of Republics ; the payment of legislators ; the appropriation by the State of all forms of property and of rent for purposes of revenue ; a heavily graduated income tax and the abolition of indirect taxation (excise duties) ; the abolition of the right of inheritance ; the confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels ; establishment of a National Bank, with State capital and exclusive monopoly, in order to the centralization of credit in the hands of the State ; the appropriation by the State of all means of transport ; the establishment of State workshops and factories, together with improvement of lands on a common plan, and a State guarantee to all workpeople of a *minimum* wage and a State provision for the incapable ; universal and free education, and the abolition of children's labour ; compulsory obligation of labour upon all equally, and the establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture ; the joint prosecution of agriculture and mechanical arts, and gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country.

In 1875 a Democratic Socialist Congress at Gotha adopted the following programme :

" I. Labour is the source of all wealth and civilization ;

and since productive labour as a whole is made possible only in and through society, the entire produce of labour belongs to society; that is, it belongs by an equal right to all its members, each according to his reasonable needs, upon condition of a universal obligation to labour.

“In existing society the instruments of labour are the monopoly of the capitalist class; the dependence of the labouring class which results therefrom is the cause of misery and servitude in all forms.

“The emancipation of labour requires the conversion of the instruments of labour into the common property of society, and the management of labour by association, and the application of the product with a view to the general good, and an equitable distribution.

“The emancipation of labour must be the work of the labouring class, in relation to which *all other classes are only a reactionary mass.*

“II. Starting from these principles, the Socialistic Labour Party of Germany seeks by all lawful means to establish a free State and a Socialistic society, to break asunder the iron law of wages by the abolition of the system of wage-labour, the suppression of every form of exploitation, the correction of all social and political inequality.

“The Socialistic Labour Party of Germany, although at first working within reasonable limits, is sensible of the international character of the labour movement, and is resolved to fulfil all the duties thereby laid on working men, in order to realise the brotherhood of all men.

“The Socialistic Labour Party of Germany demands, in order to pave the way for the solution of the social question, the establishment by State help of Socialistic productive associations under the democratic control of the workpeople. Productive associations for industry and agriculture should be created to such an extent that the Socialistic organization of all labour may arise out of them.

“The Socialistic Labour Party of Germany demands as the basis of the State: (1) Universal, equal, and direct

suffrage, together with secret and obligatory voting, for all citizens over twenty years of age, in all elections in State and Commune. The election day must be a Sunday or holiday. (2) Direct legislation by the people. Decision on peace or war by the people. (3) Universal liability to military service. Militia instead of standing army. (4) Abolition of all exceptional laws, especially laws interfering with liberty of the Press, of association, and of meeting; in general of all laws restricting free expression of opinion, free thought, and free enquiry. (5) Administration of justice by the people. Gratuitous justice. (6) Universal, compulsory, gratuitous, and equal education of the people by the State. Religion to be declared a private affair.

"The Socialistic Labour Party of Germany demands within the conditions of existing society: (1) The utmost possible extension of political rights and liberties in the sense of the above demands. (2) The replacement of all existing taxes, and especially of indirect taxes, which peculiarly burden the people, by a single progressive income tax for State and Commune. (3) Unrestricted right of combination. (4) A normal working day corresponding to the needs of society. Prohibition of Sunday labour. (5) Prohibition of the labour of children, and of all labour for women that is injurious to health and morality. (6) Laws for the protection of the life and health of workmen. Sanitary control of workmen's dwellings. Inspection of mines, factories, workshops, and home industry by officers chosen by working men. An effective Employers' Liability Act. (7) Regulation of prison labour. (8) Entire freedom of management for all funds for the assistance and support of working men."

It is a significant fact that in programmes subsequently issued by the German Socialists in connection with Conferences at Wyden and Halle the phrase "by lawful means" in the second section of the Gotha programme has been omitted; that an eight hours' day has been specifically demanded; and that thirty-six hours' continuous rest is

required instead of the simple Sunday. It is also worthy of note that the Democratic Socialists constitute a very strong party in Germany numerically, almost the strongest indeed, and that they returned forty-four members to the Reichstag in 1893, whilst they have increased at the rate of twenty-two per cent. since 1890.* In this connection it may be observed that Prince Bismarck, in July, 1890, expressed the opinion that "a bloody cataclysm was impending in Germany in the near future, and that the later repressive measures were taken the bloodier would be its solution." About the same time the Prince, speaking of the Labour Conference which had just been held at Berlin, which he described as being nothing more than a "coup d'épée dans l'eau," made the sensible and weighty observation: "The discontent of the working men is a kind of a violent fever; but the dissatisfaction of capitalists is worse and more serious for the State. The existence of factories depends not upon the workmen but upon the masters, and these must be considered or it will be a far more serious matter.

* In 1893 out of a total of 7,702,265 recorded votes, Social Democratic candidates received 1,786,738, or 359,440 more than at the last elections in February, 1890. The Social Democratic party therefore obtained more than 25 per cent. of all the votes recorded. The increase since 1890 amounted in Prussia to 205,895 votes (in the capital alone to 14,805), in Bavaria to 33,852, in Saxony to 29,467, in Würtemberg to 16,148, and in Alsace-Lorraine to 27,029. In only 15 constituencies in the whole Empire did the Social Democrats obtain no support. Numerically, they exceed by half a million any other single party in Germany. In 1871 they were scarcely able to return two members to the Reichstag; now they have forty-five members. In 1875 the total number of their votes was only 375,000. The party possesses 70 organs in the Press, 22 of them being daily newspapers. It is the most active party in the Empire, the other parties being, in comparison, asleep. There are 52 Labour organisations connected with the Social Democrats, having an aggregate membership of 227,023 members.

The majority of working men are not terrible. ‘*Les minorités turbulantes font la loi.*’ All the French revolutions have been produced not by majorities, but always by minorities. I said in January that not even the Russian Tzar would be equal to the task of solving the labour question. If the millionaire is not satisfied, how are you going to satisfy the working man, when God has not implanted in him the faculty of contentment? To-day you find it possible to meet his wishes; to-morrow new and fresh wants will arise, and so there is no end.” A few months later the Prince, referring to the conflict between the Monarchy and Socialism, said: “If the monarchy gives up it is its death.* It must not allow itself to be influenced by people who strike or threaten to strike work. It is like a wall of vapour, when you approach to touch it it disappears and you grasp nothing. What is it you demand? All men are discontented—all the rich, the middle class, and the poor, but the poor most. That is national. It will remain so, and will not be essentially altered.”

The Socialist Revolutionary Party of France issued the following Programme in 1880 as the result of a Conference at Havre:

A. POLITICAL.

“1. Abolition of all laws restricting freedom of the Press, of association, or of meeting, and particularly the law against the International Working Men’s Association. Abolition of ‘work-books.’

“2. Abolition of the budget of public worship, and secularization of ecclesiastical property.

“3. Abolition of National Debt.

“4. Universal military service on the part of the people.

“5. Communal independence in police and local affairs.

* In September, 1893, the Emperor William, of Germany, refused, in spite of urgent requests, to pass a night in Strasburg because that city had elected Socialists to the Reichstag. The consequent loss to Strasburg was two million marks.

B. ECONOMIC.

“1. One day of rest in the week under legal regulation. Limitation of working day to eight hours for adults. Prohibition of the labour of children under fourteen, and limitation of work to six hours for young persons between fourteen and sixteen.

“2. Legal fixing of *minimum* wages every year in accordance with the price of provisions.

“3. Equality of wages of male and female labour.

“4. Scientific and technical training for all children, as well as their support at the expense of society as represented by the State and the Commune.

“5. Support of the aged and infirm by society.

“6. Prohibition of all interference on the part of employers with the management of the relief and sustentation funds of the working classes, to whom the sole control of these funds should be left.

“7. Employers' liability guaranteed by deposit by employers, proportioned to number of workmen.

“8. Participation of the workmen in drawing up factory regulations. Abolition of employer's claim to punish the labourer by fines and stoppages (according to the resolution of the Commune of April 27, 1871).

“9. Revision of all agreements by which public property has been alienated (banks, railways, mines, &c.) The management of all State factories to be committed to the workmen employed in them.

“10. Abolition of all indirect taxes, and change of all direct ones into a progressive income tax on all incomes above three thousand francs.

“11. Abolition of the right of inheritance, except in the line of direct descent, and of the latter in the case of fortunes above twenty thousand francs.

“12. The transfer of all instruments of production to the community by means of a revolution on the part of the working classes organised as an independent political party.”

The French Socialists are divided into two parties, the Possibilists, who favour a gradual transition to universal collectivism by means of Municipal Socialism; and the Guesdists, who aim at the same ends, but advocate the use of violent and revolutionary methods in order to achieve them. The Possibilist Labour Congress in Paris, in July, 1889, which was composed mainly of Trades Unionists, and was altogether of a milder nature than the Marxist Congress, which met in the same city at the same time, adopted the following programme:—*

“ 1. Eight hours a day to be the maximum of the day's work fixed by international law; (2) At least one day's holiday to be given each week, and no work to be done on *fête* days; (3) Abolition of night work as far as practicable for men, and entirely for women and children; (4) The total suppression of labour by children below the age of 14, and protection for children up to the age of 18; (5) Complete technical and professional education; (6) Overtime

* In February, 1891, the Marx Socialists, who had organized a May-day demonstration in Paris in 1890, issued another manifesto, which anticipated on the first of May ensuing there would be a worldwide demonstration of the producers of wealth against terrified and cowardly exploiters. It spoke of wages as falling, of women and children as forced by capitalists to cheapen labour, of small shopkeepers as devoured by large concerns, and of peasants as crushed by taxes and usury. The only remedy, it said, was to terminate the divorce between labour and property. While reactionaries were trying to resuscitate an obsolete social order, and while pretended Republicans were taxing food for the benefit of land monopolists, working men should look to Socialism for the restitution of the produce of their labour. An eight hours day was the first step to enfranchisement by reducing the amount of toil now imposed by the “thieves of labour” on all workers, irrespective of sex and age, and thus finding work for the unemployed, raising salaries, and ensuring the rest essential for intellectual development and Socialist rights.

to be paid for at double rates, and limited to four hours in twenty-four; (7) Civil and criminal responsibility of the employers for accidents; (8) An adequate number of qualified inspectors to be nominated by the workers themselves, and paid by the State or the Commune, with full power to enter workshops, factories, or religious establishments at any time, and to examine the apprentices at their own homes; (9) Workshops to be organised by the workers with subsidies from the Municipalities or the State; (10) Prison and workhouse labour to be conducted under the same conditions as free labour, and to be employed as far as possible on great public works; (11) No foreign labourers to be allowed to accept employment, and no employers to be allowed to employ such labourers, at rates of wages below the Trade Union rates fixed for their trades; (12) A minimum wage to be fixed in every country, in accordance with a reasonable standard of living; (13) The abrogation of all laws against the international organization of labour; (14) Equal pay and opportunities for women and men for equal work."

In 1883 "The International Working People's Association" of the United States, consisting of an extreme order of Socialists, issued the following programme:—

"What we would achieve is therefore plainly and simply:

"1. Destruction of the existing class rule by all means; *i.e.*, by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

"2. Establishment of a free society based upon Co-operative organization of production.

"3. Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

"4. Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

"5. Equal rights for all, without distinction of sex or race.

"6. Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts

between the autonomous communes and associations resting on a Federalistic basis."

The "platform" of the Socialistic Labour Party of the United States is as follows:—

"Labour being the source of all wealth and civilization, and useful labour being possible only by and through the associated efforts of the people, the means of labour should therefore, in all justice, belong to society.

"The system under which society is now organized is imperfect, and hostile to the general welfare, since, through it, the directors of labour, necessarily a small minority, are enabled in the competitive struggle to practically monopolise all the means of labour—all opportunities to produce for and supply the wants of the people—and the masses are therefore maintained in poverty and dependence. The industrial emancipation of labour—which must be achieved by the working classes themselves, independent of all political parties but their own—is consequently the great end to which every political movement should be subordinate as a means.

"Since the ruling political parties have always sought only the direct interests of the dominant or wealthy class, and endeavoured to uphold their industrial supremacy, and to perpetuate the present condition of society, it is now the duty of the working people to organise themselves into one great labour party, using political power to achieve industrial independence. The material condition of the working people in all civilized countries being identical, and resulting from the same cause, the struggle for industrial emancipation is international, and must naturally be co-operative and mutual: therefore the organisation of national and international trades and labour unions, upon a Socialistic basis, is an absolute necessity.

"For these reasons the Socialistic Labour Party has been founded.

"We demand that the resources of life—the means of production, public transportation and communication (land,

machinery, railroads, telegraph-lines, canals, etc.)—become, as fast as practicable, the common property of the whole people, through the Government; thus to abolish the wages system, and substitute in its stead co-operative production, with a just distribution of its rewards.

“The Socialistic Labour Party presents the following demands as measures to ameliorate the working people under our present competitive system, and to gradually accomplish the entire removal of the same:—

“1. Eight hours, *for the present*, as the legal working day, and prompt punishment for all violations.

“2. Sanitary inspection of all conditions of labour (means of subsistence and dwellings included).

“3. Bureaus of labour statistics in all States, as well as in the national Government. The officers of the same to be elected by the people.

“4. Prohibition of the use of prison labour by private employers or corporations.

“5. Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age in industrial establishments.

“6. Compulsory education of all children under fourteen years of age. All materials, books, etc., necessary in the public schools, to be furnished free of charge.

“7. Prohibition of the employment of female labour in occupations detrimental to health or morality; and equalization of women's wages with those of men, where equal service is performed.

“8. Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents resulting, through their negligence, to the injury of their *employés*.

“9. All wages to be paid in the lawful money of the nation, and at intervals of time not exceeding one week. Violations of this rule to be legally punished.

“10. All conspiracy laws operating against the right of working men to strike, or to induce others to strike, shall be repealed.

“11. Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.

“ 12. All indirect taxation to be abolished, and a graded income tax to be collected in its stead.

“ 13. All banking and insurance to be conducted by the Government.

“ 14. The right of suffrage shall be in no wise abridged.

“ 15. Direct popular legislation, enabling the people to propose or reject any law at their will ; and introduction of minority representation in all legislative elections.

“ 16. Every public officer shall be, at all times, subject to prompt recall by the election of a successor.”

A German Socialist Congress was held at Erfurt in October, 1891, at which Herr Liebknecht presented a Programme in the name of the Committee which had been appointed to consider the matter, of which the following are the principle features :

“ 1. Universal suffrage, without distinction of sex, for all subjects of the Empire over 20 years of age ; direct election by the people by secret ballot ; the principle of ‘one man one vote,’ and biennial Parliaments.

“ 2. The direct participation of the people in legislation, with the right to initiate or reject laws, and the annual revision of the scale of taxation.

“ 3. A wide extension of the principle of local government, and the election of all public officials by the people, to whom such officials are to be held responsible.

“ 4. The training of the people in arms, so as to form a national defence to take the place of a standing army.

“ 5. The decision of peace or war to rest with the elected representatives of the people ; international disputes to be decided by arbitration.

“ 6. The repeal of all laws prohibiting or restricting free expression of opinion, or the right of association or of public meeting.

“ 7. Religion to be a matter of private opinion, and all payment of public funds for confessional and religious objects to cease ; ecclesiastical or religious communities to be considered private associations, which manage their own affairs.

"8. The secularization of the national schools, attendance at which is to be compulsory for everyone; free education, free books, and free dinners for children attending the public schools, as well as for those pupils of either sex who, by their general capacity, are considered fit to pursue their studies at the higher educational establishments.

"9. Free administration of justice and free legal advice; Judges to be elected by the people.

"10. The abolition of capital punishment, the establishment of criminal Courts of appeal, and the payment of compensation to persons unjustly accused, arrested or condemned.

"11. Free medical assistance, including attendance at childbirth, free medicine, and free disposal of the dead.

"12. A graduated income and property tax to defray the public expenditure, so far as it is to be met by taxation; the obligation of self-assessment; the succession duty to be fixed on a sliding scale, according to the amount of the inheritance and the degree of relationship between the legatee and the testator.

"13. The abolition of indirect taxation and duties, and of such politico-economic measures as subordinate the general weal to the interests of a privileged minority.

"14. An efficient national and international legislation for the protection of the working classes; the taking over by the State of all workmen's insurance agencies, the workmen to be given an adequate share in their administration.

"15. An unbroken period of rest of at least 36 hours in each week for every working man."

The reader has now been placed in possession of the means of forming a clear and a true conception of the nature of the aims of modern Socialism. If he is acquainted with the speeches and the literature of Socialists in England he will be perfectly familiar with the ideas and the proposals which appear in these Continental and American programmes, for they form the staple of all the Socialistic utterances among us.

Professor Fawcett, after having carefully examined the proposals of the leading German Socialists, set forth the following as a full and fair statement of the programme of modern European Socialism :—

“ 1. That there should be no private property, and that no one should be permitted to acquire property by inheritance. That all should be compelled to labour, no one having a right to live without labour.

“ 2. The nationalization of the land, and of the other instruments of production ; or, in other words, the State should own all the land, capital, machinery—in fact, everything which constitutes the industrial plant of a country—in order that every industry may be carried on by the State.” These proposals are put forward as the ultimate aims of Socialism in its highest development. But Socialists themselves admit that as there is no immediate prospect of securing these objects in their fulness, it is desirable to put forward more modest proposals which involve changes less fundamental, but which will be really facilitating the attainment of the Socialistic ideal. Prof. Fawcett therefore gives a further list of objects which are being sought by modern European Socialism, and he states that these objects are regarded as not only desirable in themselves, but still more desirable because they will facilitate the complete realisation of the ultimate aims of Socialism. These subsidiary objects are stated to be the following :—

“ The establishment of co-operative agricultural and manufacturing associations supported by the State.

“ Universal, compulsory and free education.

“ A progressive income tax, and the abolition of indirect taxation.

“ The limitation by the State of the length of the day's work.

“ The sanitary inspection of mines, factories, and workmen's dwellings.

“ The State should find work for the unemployed by

constructing public works, the necessary funds being supplied by an unlimited issue of paper money."

If it be thought that the view taken in this work is too gloomy, we may remind the reader that Professor Fawcett said not long ago at Oxford that if the growth of the Socialistic political vote in Germany and in the United States made as much progress during the next fifty years as it has during the last fifty, capital can do nothing effectual against Socialism. Such an opinion as this is surely entitled to great weight. The fact is that the growth of the Socialistic vote is one of the most ominous signs of our times. Not less ominous is the propaganda of violence which is now openly carried on in this country and in the United States, and in France and Germany. An appeal was recently circulated in Paris which said: "Here is what we propose to all the wretched—to pay nothing, especially to proprietors. We are on this planet to profit by all that is contained within it and upon its surface, by the simple fact that we are its inhabitants. Consequently all the materials which have been employed to construct houses belong to all, and those who have appropriated a spot of ground to our detriment are thieves. Come Proletaire, take up your abode in spacious, well-ventilated rooms, instead of remaining in wretched and pestilent holes where you are crushed by privation and unwholesome air. You must dress yourselves well and nourish your families. You commit a crime if you bring children into the world and do not fill their bodies in such a way as to make them robust revolutionaries. Why need you care about the price? You will not have to pay a second time what you have paid for the sweat of your brow and your fatigues." An appeal even more inflammatory and immoral than this was circulated broadcast in April, 1891, in the town of Sheffield, by the Sheffield group of Communist Anarchists, which is here quoted in *extenso*:

"Criminals! Brothers!—We salute you brothers in the desire which we have to make you understand that you are so, and not only that, but the hope we also have to make

you our comrades. We Communists are, like you, at war with society, and are therefore, like you, criminals. We are desirous to do all that you do, in order to show our contempt and hate of the present condition of things, and because we believe that you criminals are really benefactors of humanity, while those who sit in judgment on you are the real malefactors, the present system of society being nothing more than a robbery of the workers for the benefit of idlers. You are criminals and we are criminals, but the great difference between us is that you, unfortunately, owing to the education which your masters have given you, believe that you do wrong in robbing the robbers—that is to say, the rich—while we are fully convinced that it is the right thing and the best thing to do.

“What is called property is robbery. It is a continual and constant robbery of the workers, who by their toil produce everything useful, everything necessary for the support of existence. And it is because of this robbery of the labourers that you find yourselves in the position you are in, as you will understand by the following explanation, the reading of which will more than repay you by restoring to you all your self-respect : for we can prove to you that unjust conditions of society, and not at all your own fault, have placed you in your present position. Society makes criminals, and then slowly tortures them in prison, or strangles them to death. Society makes criminals—that is to say, that the frightful robbery which society enables the rich to perpetrate inevitably leaves a large number of the workers without the means of existence, and compels them, for self-preservation, to retake from these rich a part of what they have stolen.

“Is there any real reason for this robbery of the workers? Do we produce so little that it has to be scrambled for, and some of us must necessarily go without? Nothing of the sort. Quite the reverse. The fact is that we have means of producing in any country to-day twice as much food, and three times as much of all necessary articles, as are required

to provide abundance for all. Why, then, do so many people want everything, so much so as to be obliged to starve, or to accept degrading charity, or, as you do, boldly accept the risks and take what they require? Because all the means of existence have been grabbed by the real thieves. The land-thieves, otherwise called land-owners, have possession of all the soil of England, and oblige those who cultivate it to give them (who do nothing) such a large share of what is produced that not enough is left to keep the cultivators in comfort; and the houses we live in, and all other necessary things, belong to other grabbers or thieves, who, in the shape of rent and profit, take so much from the workers—the only people who produce anything—that the same result follows—namely, such prolonged toil as degrades and stupefies the workers while they have work, and leaves them without any means of existence whenever they are no longer required to do that work, which is only intended to benefit their masters, who own everything and who direct everything for their sole benefit. Thus it is that, in the midst of abundance, there are so many of our brothers and sisters perishing of hunger and cold; thus it is, too, that the very abundance of everything produces want! For when things are so abundant that they cannot be sold at such a rate as will bring profit to the monopolizers or robbers, then production must cease, and the workers in consequence must starve, or beg for what really belongs to them, or our poor sisters must sell themselves to gratify the lust of the masters.

“Such a state of society must not continue, in spite of the fact that our masters have taken advantage of the wretchedness they produce to hire large numbers of the ignorant workers themselves, and employ them as police and soldiers to defend their unjust and cruel privileges. Continue, then, your course of resistance to this vile thing called property, and to everything which in the shape of law and authority dares to prevent you or punish you for taking what is your own. Never dream of abandoning your

present mode of life for that of the wretched wage-slave, crushed to death with unbearable toil to increase the riches and unjust power of his masters; and least of all lend an ear to the snivelling preachers who, in the interest of your masters because paid by them, would teach you to wait for justice until you arrive at their imaginary Heaven. Come also and study with us the social question, and you will find that, instead of having reason to be ashamed of your mode of life, you have reason to be proud of it, for, though all unconscious of the truth, you are really in the proud position of brave soldiers fighting in the very vanguard of freedom.—Your Brothers and Comrades in the Social Revolution.”

Literature of this inflammatory description has been for years past disseminated in London and in all our large centres of population, and the infamous propaganda is still being carried on. It is a serious question whether these doctrines of anarchy and plunder and murder ought to be permitted to be freely promulgated, or whether the Government ought not to sternly repress all such incitements to dishonesty and violence. Freedom is all very well, but when it is made a pretext for wanton license it is quite possible to pay too high a price for it. It is absolutely certain that such evil seed cannot be sown without a bitter harvest being subsequently reaped. Much of the industrial trouble that has come upon us of late years has been the direct outgrowth of Socialistic literature and speeches. Any man who should boldly preach sedition and treason would be arrested and punished; but surely it is not less criminal to preach plunder, confiscation and outrage. It is well that the monarch should be protected on her throne; it is also well that the poor peasant should be protected in his cottage. It is the poor man who will suffer first and suffer longest from the success of Socialism, and for the sake of the poor, even more than for the sake of the rich, the State ought to deal sternly with those who are undermining the very foundations upon which society is built.

Modern Socialism glories in being international; indeed it is as much opposed to the idea of nationality as it is to everything else: it is impossible for Socialism and patriotism to flourish in the same soil. It is continental in its spirit; its entire genius is antagonistic to the Anglo-Saxon mind. The "Social Democrats," as they call themselves, have derived their very name from Germany; Karl Marx is their prophet; and what they call their "teachings" are nothing more nor less than crude and ill-digested versions of German Socialism. They are violent and vulgar, virulent and vapid, and the marvel is that any man of intelligence can be induced to look with favour for a moment upon the brainless and aimless inanities which they belch forth. Although they call themselves Socialists, they are virtually Communists, and many of them are Anarchists as well. Their fundamental principles are that private property is illegitimate and pernicious, that the State, as representing organised society, should own all wealth, direct all labour, and compel the equal distribution of all produce: in other words, that everything should be held in common; that the State should appropriate the produce of all labour, and should maintain the labourer from the common stock. It is true that there are some Socialists who disavow the name of Communist, and who endeavour to explain Socialism in such a manner as to distinguish it from Communism, but their explanations when carefully examined only make it the more clear that they are to all intents and purposes Communists. Mr. Hyndman says: "Socialism is an endeavour to substitute for the anarchical struggle or fight for existence an organised co-operation for existence." This definition cannot be said to err on the side of lucidity. Ordinary people desire to have the matter explained a little more in detail; but this vulgar desire for fuller information is rebuked by Mr. J. L. Joynes, one of the Socialistic leaders, who says that "no scientific Socialist pretends to have any scheme or detailed plan of organisation."

Similarly Marx, in his work on "*Secret Societies in Switzerland*," says:—"The masses can only be gathered under the flag of negation. When you present detailed plans you excite controversies and sow divisions; you repeat the mistake of the French Socialists, who have scattered their redoubtable forces because they have tried to carry formulated systems. We are content to lay down the foundation of the revolution. We shall have deserved well of it if we stir hatred and contempt against all existing institutions. We make war against all prevailing ideas of religion, of the State, of country, of patriotism. The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization. It must be destroyed. The true root of liberty, of equality, of culture, is atheism. Nothing must restrain the spontaneity of the human mind." Mr. Hyndman further says that the cure for the present evils of capitalistic society is "the collective ownership of land, capital, machinery, and credit by the complete ownership of the people." In the Socialistic state everything is to be owned by everybody; there is to be no individual ownership at all, but only collective ownership; that is to say private property will entirely cease to exist, and Communism will be put in its place.

It will be clear from what has been already stated that the Socialistic spirit is utterly impracticable. The schemes and proposals of the Socialists are so ultra-foolish, so inane and insane, that they could not be put into practice without throwing society into utter confusion. Indeed, they cannot be put into practice at all, for they are not capable of being reduced to practice. There has never been in all the history of the world a nation which was organised upon such a basis as is proposed by modern Socialists. There have been a few Socialistic communities, but these were so small that the principle of individualism was able to operate largely even within their borders, and it was owing to the operation of that principle that they were able to subsist as long as they did. Even with this advantage, however, they could not exist very long, but

speedily went to pieces. But more of this in a subsequent chapter. The point here emphasised is that Socialism is too foolish to be practised by men who have even a grain of common sense. This being the case, it seems hardly worth while to spend much time in refuting its fallacies or combating its aims. The marvellous fact remains, however, that a considerable number of people are somehow attracted by the glamour of Socialism, and profess to accept it, and to desire its acceptance by others. Probably most of these people utterly fail to understand what Socialism really is, partly because their teachers never tell them plainly what it is, their policy being to avoid definitions and to use only the vaguest language. They live all the time in a fog—and in a London fog too.

Again, the spirit of Socialism is manifestly unjust. No pains need be taken to argue this point; it is self-evident. Men who would deprive every individual of that which is indubitably his own, without giving him any compensation at all for it, are simply thieves and robbers. They are no more entitled to respect than is a garrotter or a burglar. The fact that they propose to do their plundering under some sort of a legal disguise does not make it any the less plundering. It is just as criminal to deprive a man of his property by the vote of a majority as it is to knock him down in the street and pick his pockets. The difference is simply one of method; it does not touch the essence of the crime. Socialists, however, as has been already intimated, do not propose to restrict themselves to legal methods; they follow such methods only as long as they are compelled to do so by their fewness and feebleness. With them might is right. Although they are for ever denouncing the capitalistic and the governing classes on the alleged ground that these classes mis-use their power, they themselves make no secret of their intention to mis-use power even more flagrantly as soon as they get a chance of doing so. Socialism is the rankest and foulest injustice, and can never be other than a loathesome offence to honest men.

Furthermore, the Socialistic spirit is malignant and destructive. Hatred of the rich is the very breath of its life. Envy, perhaps the most fiendish passion that can animate the human breast, which John Stuart Mill characterised as the most anti-social of all the vices, and which is called by Longfellow the "vice of Republics," is the master passion of its being. Although it boasts of its benevolent character, it is really malevolent to its very core. It maintains its existence almost entirely by malignant tirades against the wealthy, and it preys upon the ignorant poor by teaching them that the rich are their natural enemies, and that their lot can never be improved while rich people remain in the world.

The spirit of modern Socialism is forcibly illustrated in the following utterance of Mr. John Burns, which is quoted from the "London Quarterly Review" for April, 1893:—

"The more the workers got, the more they would demand. The driver of a sledge across the Russian steppes was pursued by a pack of hungry wolves. To appease the wolves the driver first tossed them his cap; but this was fruitless. He then threw out his mantle; but the wolves followed fast as ever. Then he gave up his provisions, which effected a momentary diversion; but the wolves were soon again by his side. Then he sacrificed one child, then another, and last of all his wife; but the wolves, after devouring them, seeing the driver and horses in front, kept up the pursuit. In fine, when the horses are devoured, the driver, too, must rejoin his family in the stomachs of the wolves. THE DRIVER IS CAPITAL, THE POSSESSORS; THE WOLVES ARE THE SOCIALISTS; THE ROAD ACROSS THE STEPPES IS THE PATH OF HUMAN PROGRESS; AND THE CAP, THE MANTLE, THE CHILDREN, AND THE WIFE, ABANDONED ONE BY ONE TO THE WOLVES, ARE THE CONCESSIONS MADE EVERY DAY BY THE CAPITALISTS TO THE PROLETARIAT—THE REFORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE COMPELLED TO ASSENT, UNDER PAIN OF BEING THEMSELVES DEVoured. And sooner or later, unless they are careful, their turn will come. LITTLE BY

LITTLE, WE SHALL TAKE ALL; as soon as we obtain one liberty we shall demand another. *The wolves, the wolves, you know—the wolves behind the sledge.*"

The comparison of Socialists with a pack of wolves, howling, ferocious, unappeasable, is a very apt one, though it is a little surprising to find it being drawn by a Socialist, who appears to glory in the fact that he is himself one of the hungry pack. But he certainly ought to know his own disposition. No utterance of Rousseau, or Marx, or Bakunin, or Proudhon, could be more bitter or more malignant than this of Mr. John Burns. Listen to it, ponder it, ye capitalists, ye politicians, ye philanthropists, who think to pacify the Labour-Socialists by profit-sharing and Boards of Arbitration—to appease the wolves by throwing them your caps and mantles! As they mean to take up all—absolutely all—you possess, would it not be wiser policy to refuse to give them anything, and to compel them, like other people, to be content with their own?

Mr. John Burns was not long since preaching the doctrine of "bread or lead," and he has even advocated what is practically indistinguishable from assassination by dynamite. In a speech at Battersea, reported in the *Times* of April 11, 1887, he said: "Henceforth they would mete out to traitors that punishment which their treachery justified. Great sorrow was evinced at the attempt to rid the earth of the Tzar. *He was sorry, too, very sorry, that they did not succeed.* He asked those present if they deprecated force and extreme measures, if some of them did not like *the idea of Joseph Chamberlain following the Tzar and Lord Salisbury to heaven by means of a chemical parcels post.*" Although a Conservative Government was in office when this speech, "apparently full of incitement to outrage" (as a lawyer describes it), Mr. Matthews, the Home Secretary, took no action in relation to it. And when, a few years later, John Williams, the Socialist agitator, threatened on Tower Hill that the police "would be dispatched by chemical parcels post," and there was some talk of prosecuting him, he audaciously retorted

that he was "simply quoting a phrase used some time ago by Mr. John Burns." Some little stir was made about the matter, and several Press representatives interviewed Mr. Burns, "but he absolutely refused to say anything on the subject." The attention of Parliament was also to be called to the matter, but nothing was done in that direction, probably because no Member of Parliament dare offend the "popular" party—the party of plunder; though it is amazing that some prominent member of the House of Lords did not make the country ring with indignant remonstrance. It was semi-officially stated that the remarks of the Tower Hill agitator had been laid before the Home Office, "but the general opinion was that in face of the fact that *the real author of the inflammatory language is a supporter of the Government nothing will be done.* Mr. Asquith can hardly prosecute Williams for language used by one of his own henchmen." Nothing will be done! So it ever is. Neither political party dares to do simply what is right, for fear of alienating voters who may assist them to place and power. As Christ was crucified between two thieves, so is England being slowly done to death by scoundrelly Socialists between Tories and Liberals, who look complacently on.

This is not the worst. Lord Rosebery came into office as Prime Minister shortly after the subsidence of the excitement just alluded to in regard to a "chemical parcels post," and a few weeks, subsequently, Mr. Mundella having resigned the Presidency of the Board of Trade, it was credibly affirmed that the post had been offered to Mr. John Burns, one of the Socialist wolves—a leader of the pack. "How are the mighty fallen! How is the fine gold become dim!" To what depths of ignominy has democracy already degraded this ancient and noble country! Think of it, ye merchant princes, ye manufacturers, whose fame is known through all the earth; ye traders whose ships traverse every sea! A Socialistic agitator came well-nigh being placed in a position of honour and authority in the British Government, wherein he would have had power to inflict in-

calculable injury upon British capital by fostering Socialistic doctrines within the department which is specially charged to defend our commerce. What is to be thought of the judgment, putting aside the sincerity and honesty, of a Premier who can even contemplate the possibility of such an office being given to such a man? It is nothing short of madness, and "if these things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?" If in the very infancy of the labour movement it is seriously proposed to make Mr. John Burns President of the Board of Trade, what may we expect when that movement gathers strength, and we are all placed under Trade Union domination? What a pleasant place England will be to live in then! Between them, the politicians and the Socialists will turn the grand old country into a wilderness, nay into a Pandemonium. If Lord Rosebery had merely wished to honour labour by promoting some worthy representative of it to preside over the Board of Trade, why did he not offer the position to Mr. Thomas Burt, or Mr. Charles Fenwick, or Mr. John Wilson? Because none of these men is a Socialist, and would not therefore carry with him the lowest class of labour voters, who are largely Socialists. Obviously, therefore, Lord Rosebery was striving to purchase the "Labour vote" by tactics which dishonour, not only the Prime Minister himself, but also the country of which he is the first citizen, and of whose interests he ought to consider himself the responsible custodian.

Socialism is as cowardly as it is malignant; for what could be more contemptible in its cowardice than to take advantage of the ignorance of the rude working man, and to poison his mind with wicked and malicious thoughts towards those who have done him no harm, but who have probably done him a great deal of good. Socialism is a destroying blight. As has been shown, it would inaugurate its existence by the destruction of society as it is now organised. In fact, it is a destructive force and nothing else; it is not, and in its nature it cannot be, a constructive

force. Destruction is the work of fools, and fools alone are fit for such work. Let it be left to the fools. The misfortune is that fools should be so plentiful, and wise men so scarce. It is some compensation, however, to know that one wise man may be a match for a thousand fools. The growth of Socialism, such as it is, has done more perhaps than anything else to justify Carlyle's cynical observation that the inhabitants of this kingdom consist of "wise men and fools—mostly fools."

Finally, the Socialistic spirit is immoral and irreligious. Immoral it must be by reason of its being unrighteous, apart from anything else whatever. But it is also immoral in a deeper and wider sense. It is opposed to the family, which is the very corner-stone of civilised society, and it is opposed to those virtues which the family institution is eminently calculated to foster. It is opposed to the sanctity of the marriage tie, and it is associated, in the lives of multitudes of its exponents, with free love (properly interpreted free lust) and other such like unnatural and monstrous immoralities. As to its irreligious character, it need only be said that it is in the main atheistic. God—the Bible—the Church of Christ—the Lord's Day and its worship—all these things the average Socialist looks upon as degrading superstitions, fit only for imbeciles. Whilst he is preaching his own imbecilities as regards property, the nature of man, and the proper constitution of society, he looks with scorn upon the men and women who are animated by the pure and mighty spirit of Christ's religion, and who hold, or rather are held by, the faith which has "subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."

Now it is obvious that an organised Socialistic party, seeking to accomplish such objects as these, constitutes, in a democratic community, a serious danger to the State. It

does so for two reasons ; first, because it is able to inflame the passions and the prejudices of an ignorant electorate to a very dangerous pitch, by appealing to the most mercenary and sordid motives of the lowest stratum of electors ; and, secondly, because it is its avowed purpose to use violent and revolutionary means as soon as it is strong enough to do so, and not to depend upon constitutional methods. Mr. Hyndman says that “ force, or fear of force, is unfortunately the only reasoning which can appeal to a dominant estate, or which will even induce them to surrender any portion of their property.”* Clearly, therefore, the Socialists mean to fight as well as to vote. Probably there are none of them foolish enough to believe that they will ever get a majority of voters to support their mad schemes, but they may be infatuated enough to believe that even a minority of voters well drilled and armed, might make a very formidable army. Well, it is tolerably certain that there will be some fighting, and some very fierce and obstinate fighting, before this Socialistic demon is laid to rest. It is almost certain that the most bloody and disastrous civil wars ever known in history will take place, both in Europe and in the United States, over this question of property ; for the people who now possess wealth are not going to surrender it without a determined struggle. And if we are to have revolutionary war sooner or later, perhaps the sooner the better ; for it is absolutely certain that whatever victories the Socialists might gain at the ballot-boxes they would meet with nothing but disaster and annihilation on the open battlefield. However, this is a matter which must be allowed to work up to its consummation according to the laws of its own development. But sagacious men will expect no true peace in the world as long as this demon of Socialism stalks abroad breeding envy and discontent, inflaming the lowest lusts of the lowest men, impelling the wanton and the

* Mr. Belfort Bax says that “ Force is the midwife of progress.”

worthless to better their condition by robbing the industrious and the honest, and thus ensuring perpetual unrest and conflict. The advance of Socialism means war—war to the knife—war without quarter—war of the most horrible nature on the most gigantic scale. Let there be no mistake about this. Unless all human history is a lie, and the accumulated experience of all the generations of mankind a monstrous myth, it is absolutely certain that when you proceed to dispossess men of the property which is legitimately their own they will prepare to defend it with their lives. For that property is not valued merely for its own sake; with it are inseparably bound up the sustenance, the comfort, the interests, the independence of wives and children, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters. All the most sacred, the most mighty, the most permanent passions of the human heart are entwined around property. Touch a man's property, and through that you touch those who are dearer to him than his own life, blood of his blood, bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh. Property is glorified by the love which it enshrines. The vulgar, the material-minded, the mean-souled, can see in property nothing but bricks and mortar, fields and trees; but the eyes of love can see in these things tenderness and beauty indescribable, poetry and music unspeakable. Love will nerve the arms that fight for property; and there is no warrior like Love. Joseph Cook says: "There has never yet been seen in American history a day so red with blood as will be that day when Socialism attempts spoliation here by force of arms." So will it be in England. The grim conflict between Cromwell's Ironsides and the forces of the King, the bloody feuds between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the even more ferocious butcheries which the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland perpetrated upon each other in the name of God, will all pale into insignificance in comparison with the more terrible civil wars which will break out when Socialism makes its spring and with its murderous grip strives to throttle freedom and shed the life-

blood of property. Professor Hitchcock has said that Cæsar was Rome's escape from Communism, and when Communism reaches in England or in the United States a similar stage to that which it reached in Rome, Cæsars will appear in those countries too. In other words, the abuse of democratic powers by a democratic community will render necessary a military despotism as the only salvation of society.

In the face of what has been advanced as to the spirit and the aims of Socialism, is it any exaggeration to say that to accept it would be politically a blunder, commercially a calamity, socially a crime, and morally a sin? Mr. *Punch*, who is oftentimes a wise counsellor as well as a humourous critic, published a cartoon about four years ago which represented an eagle, styled "Capital, Labour, Trade," poised in mid-air struggling with the serpent of Socialism. The eagle has the reptile at his mercy, and is about to dispatch it. The following lines were appended:

"An eagle and a serpent wreathed in fight!"

There is the symbol he who runs may read.

The bird is Trade, with pinions balanced right;

Labour and Capital in love agreed,

All's well; the serpent shall not then succeed

In shackling that, or in destroying this.

The snake, a venomous worm of poisonous breed,

In vain shall coil and knot, shall strike and hiss.

Mark, Wealth! mark, Toil! the moral's one you scarce can miss!

The moral is that Socialism should be slain—not nurtured, not dallied with, not petted, but killed outright; and that this should be done whilst it is "in the air."

CHAPTER II.

SOCIALISTIC DREAMERS AND THEIR DELUSIONS.

It is no doubt true that "practical" men are too much inclined to treat students and thinkers with contempt, and to conclude that only men of their own type exert any real and lasting influence upon life and conduct. The truth, of course, is just the opposite. The mighty forces which rule the world, the deep currents which vitalise the minds and fertilise the works of men, are generated, not in the noisy exchanges and markets where "practical" men congregate, but in the quiet and detached study of the philosopher. Dreamers, of a certain kind, rule the world. The qualification is essential. Not all dreamers are seers or prophets; some are simply fools or maniacs. How are we to distinguish between the two types? By this infallible test—Which dreams in accordance with truth and reason? The one who does that is the sent of God. The dreaming which is Divinely inspired is nothing more nor less than exalted and glorified thinking on the highest themes; it is always calm, gentle, sane; it never degenerates into violence, or irrationality, or fanaticism.

Jesus Christ was a dreamer; Paul and Peter and John, His chiefest Apostles, were dreamers; but millions of men are to-day inspired and sustained by the truths they taught. And why? Because they were the depositaries of a new Divine revelation. Martin Luther, the solitary monk of Erfurt, was a dreamer; but the outcome of his dreams was a movement which shook the Papacy to its foundations and profoundly modified the course of human history. And why? Because he had resuscitated the vital doctrine of "Justification by Faith," which had lain for ages buried

under the gross errors of Romanism. John Bunyan was a dreamer ; but his dreams have afforded instruction, edification, and comfort to millions of delighted readers. And why ? Because he set forth old truths under new forms. John Wesley dreamed, and the Methodist movement, which was merely a revival of primitive truth, took form. All these dreamers will stand the test ; their utterances were in accordance with truth and reason.

Dreamers of another order stand upon a somewhat lower plane, and deal with material things. Galileo dreamed, and though ignorant men put him to death for heresy, his views on the solar system are now everywhere accepted. Columbus dreamed, and the New World was discovered. Isaac Newton dreamed, and the discovery of the law of gravitation was the result. Benjamin Franklin dreamed, and electricity was brought to light. James Watt dreamed, and lo ! the steam engine. George Stephenson dreamed, and behold the railway systems of the world. Humphrey Davy dreamed, and myriads of miners are now able to pursue their occupation in safety. Some dreamer discovered the mariner's compass, with the result that the sea can be traversed with almost as much certainty and safety as the land. All these are examples of the immense superiority of the man of thought over the man of action ; all are illustrations of the cardinal fact that the mightiest men, even among thinkers, are those whose thoughts issue from the fountain of reason and truth.

But what of truth and reason do we find amid the utterances of the dreamers of Socialism ? Who among them can compare with any one of the men above named ? Which of them has carried human thought to a higher level or revealed to men a nobler way of life ? Rousseau ? Or Karl Marx ? Or Lassalle ? Or Saint-Simon ? Or Fourier ? Or Proudhon ? Let the utterances which we have quoted from these men give the answer. Such teachings as their's bear no mark of celestial origin. No : Socialism has no seer, no prophet, no dreamer

inspired and equipped by God ; it is of the earth earthy ; it is from below and not from above, as certain even of its own teachers have perceived, for they have unblushingly advocated it as a means of returning to the savage state. Obviously, therefore, its adoption in practice would give mankind a set-back all round.

We have used the phrase "its adoption in practice." But the truth is that there is no possibility of reducing Socialism to practice. Hitherto the impracticable nature of Socialism has been referred to in the course of this work only incidentally ; the time has now come to examine carefully and thoroughly the delusive character of Socialistic schemes. First of all, let us remind ourselves of the nature of the leading proposals which are set forth in the Socialistic Programme which is now being advocated in Europe and in the United States. They may be summarized as follows :—

1. Abolition of private property in, and the nationalization of, land.
2. Abolition of private property in general, and the nationalization of all means of production, such as factories, machinery, railways, etc.
3. Abolition of the right of inheritance.
4. Abolition of the wages system.
5. Abolition of the competitive system generally.
6. A graduated income tax.
1. The demand that the land should be nationalised is in no sense a new one, for in some form or other it has been advocated by certain obscure writers for centuries ; but it has undoubtedly received an immense impetus in this country from the publication of Mr. Henry George's attractive, but delusive, work, "Progress and Poverty." Thousands of intelligent and amiable men, who are incapable of deep or sustained thinking, have in a vague kind of way accepted Mr. George's nostrum for curing all the ills of society. But if one of these excellent gentlemen were asked to define what nationalising the land means, by what

methods it is to be accomplished, and above all, what the inevitable results of nationalising the land would be, he would be entirely unable to give any satisfactory answer to these questions. All that he knows about it, good, simple man, is that certain things are wrong in connection with the land system; that certain landlords are no better than they ought to be, and are inclined to treat their tenants unmercifully and harshly; that some tenants, and these among the most honourable and skilful, have been ruined by the arbitrary and ruthless exactions of bad landlords; and that certain fortunate owners of land have been enormously enriched by the growth of immense populations upon or near their estates. He further has a hazy notion that every human being has some sort of proprietary right in the soil, in virtue of the fact that the Creator made him and placed him upon this earth, and that therefore this said human being ought somewhere to have a bit of land to which he has an indubitable natural right. It never seems to occur to this simple-minded land nationaliser that the same process of reasoning may be applied to everything else in the world as well as the land. For example, if a man is entitled to own some piece of land, upon which he has not laboured, and for which he has not paid, simply because he is a human being placed in this world by the Almighty, it follows that on the same principles of reasoning this human being is equally entitled to food and clothing for which he has not laboured or paid; and if all the food and clothing which are within his reach have been previously appropriated by others who have worked and paid for them, why then food and clothing must be nationalised in order that this particular individual may come to possess his natural and legitimate share of them. But our land nationaliser would meet this kind of argument by another of his favourite doctrines, which is that there is a fundamental and an essential distinction betwixt property in land and all other forms of property, a doctrine in support of which not one

sound and invulnerable argument can be adduced. Fundamentally, there is no distinction whatever between land and beds of coal or nitrate or deposits of guano; between land or diamond or ruby or gold mines; or even between land and manufactured goods. The materials out of which all things are made either for man's subsistence or comfort come out of the earth, the bountiful mother, and through her they are given to us by God. Man can create nothing at all; with all his skill and energy he can but change the form and the place of the materials which he finds ready to his hand. All inventive, manufacturing, commercial processes and movements resolve themselves into just that—fashioning old things anew and transporting them from one place to another. The writer, when walking or riding through the principal streets of London, the wealthiest city in the world, and gazing upon the wonderful variety of commodities stored in the shops—provisions, clothes, furniture, jewelry, toys, china, etc., has often reflected that all these things, and also the buildings which contain them, have alike come out of the earth. Land is the gift of God! Yes: but so is gold and silver, iron and lead, wood and stone, wool and cotton, and a thousand other things which man needs every day; and just as these raw metals and material must have applied to them the skill and labour of man before they can be fashioned into the articles needed for the use or conveniency or pleasure of mankind, so must land be brought under culture before it can be made to produce the fruits and the crops required for human sustenance. Of what value is land, at all events in civilised countries, except were human labour has vitalized and transformed it? What good is a field unenclosed, unfenced, undrained, uncultivated, unfertilized? Practically, it is worthless. It follows, therefore, that land is made valuable by the labour which has been put into it. Landowners and their agents have recently stated before the Royal Commission on Agriculture and elsewhere that within a comparatively short time scores of thousands of pounds have been

spent upon the improvement of particular estates.* This process has been going on for centuries in old countries ; every owner or occupier of the land has done something to make it better than he found it ; besides which the man who originally reclaimed the land has frequently spent from ten to thirty pounds per acre in doing so. Clearly therefore the land has become something quite different from what it was at first. Hundreds and thousands of men have been engaged in great processes of agricultural manufacture ; they have been making *land*, just as truly as other men have been making cloth, or calico, or machinery ; and therefore there is just as truly property in the one product as in the others. In each case the raw material was given

* “ Since Mr. George did me the honour of sending to me a book assuming that landowners are not producers, I have found on inquiry that I have spent on one property alone during my own tenure the sum of £240,000 on agricultural improvements—that is to say, on reclamation of the soil, on its drainage, and on its buildings. . . . It has been ascertained that in the county with which I am chiefly connected not less than 60 per cent. of the total income is otherwise expended than on the personal enjoyments of those to whom rent is paid. I am in possession of authentic information that on one great estate in England the outlay on improvements purely agricultural had for 21 years previous been at the rate of £35,000 a year, whilst, including outlay on churches and schools, it has amounted in the last 40 years to nearly £2,000,000 sterling. . . . My own experience now extends over a period of the best part of half a century. During that time I have built more than fifty homesteads complete for man and beast ; I have drained and reclaimed many hundred, and enclosed some thousands, of acres. In this sense I have ‘ added house to house and field to field,’ not—as pulpit orators have assumed in similar cases—that I might ‘ dwell alone in the land,’ but that the cultivating class might live more comfortably, and with better appliances for increasing the produce of the soil.”—*The Duke of Argyll* : “ The Unseen Foundations of Society.”

by God through Nature; in each case human labour gave to the raw material new form and quality; and consequently in each case the labourer has property in that upon which he has expended his skill and energy. What would be thought of a man who should say that there can be no individual ownership of clothes or carpets, because wool is the gift of God? Or that no man can hold property in household furniture because wood and leather and horsehair are the gifts of God? The absurdity of such raving—one cannot call it reasoning—is apparent in relation to these things; if the absurdity is less apparent, it is no less real, with reference to land.

The Encyclical letter issued by Pope Leo XIII., about four years ago, on social questions, gives forth no uncertain sound upon the subject of private property in land. The Pope clearly demonstrates that this particular form of private property rests upon precisely the same basis as all other forms of it, and that the nationalisation of land is open to the very same objections as may be urged against Socialistic schemes for dealing with capital and property in general. He deals as ruthlessly with land Socialists as he does with capitalistic Socialists. He claims that as man alone among animals possesses reason, "it must be within his right to have things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living beings have them, but in stable and permanent possession." . . . Wherefore it is in his power to exercise his choice, not only on things which regard his present welfare, but also on those which will be for his advantage in time to come. Hence man can not only possess the fruits of the earth, but also the earth itself; for of the products of the earth he can make provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur; satisfied to-day, they demand new supplies to-morrow. Nature, therefore, owes to man a storehouse that shall never fail, the daily supply of his daily wants. And this he finds only in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth." As regards the favourite contention of the land

nationalisers that God has given the earth to the use and enjoyment of the human race universally, the Pope points out that this fact in no way conflicts with private ownership of land; and for this reason, that God has granted the earth to mankind in general, "not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they please, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to anyone in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples." It is, moreover, pointed out that the earth does not cease to minister to the needs of all because it is privately owned by a few, simply because there is no one who does not live on what the land brings forth, "all human subsistence being derived either from labour on one's own land, or from some laborious industry which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth." In these facts the Pope finds another proof that private ownership of land is according to God's law: "For that which is required for the preservation of life, and for life's well-being, is produced in great abundance by the earth, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and lavished upon it his care and skill. Now, when man thus spends the industry of his mind and the strength of his body in procuring the fruits of nature, by that act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates—that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his own personality; and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his own, and should have a right to keep it without molestation. . . . For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes its condition; it was wild before, now it is fruitful; it was barren and now it brings forth in abundance. That which has thus altered and improved it becomes as truly part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that the fruit of a man's sweat and labour should be enjoyed by another? As

effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labour should belong to him who has laboured." In reading these two latter sentences one might almost suppose that one were reading Henry George himself. It is not alone Socialistic "reformers," however, who are solicitous about the interests of the working man, and if the working man should ever commit himself to the tender mercies of these somewhat blatant "friends" of his, he will quickly find out that instead of being endowed with new possessions he has been despoiled of those which formerly belonged to him.

It must be admitted, however, that the average citizen is to be pitied rather than blamed for his acceptance of the land nationalisation heresy. He has been taught it by those who ought to have known better. Mr. Herbert Spencer, for example, has used his great authority in support of those who are preaching untrue, unrealisable, and confiscatory doctrines with regard to land ownership. In "Social Statics," Spencer says that "Equity does not permit property in land," and in support of this extraordinary doctrine he advances the extraordinary reason that "if *one* portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, thus *other* portions of the earth may be held, and eventually the *whole* of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands." Spencer further says: "It may be true that you are entitled to compensation for the improvements land has received at your hands, and at the same time it may be equally true that no act, form, proceeding or ceremony can make land your private property." It has been well said that on the same principles of reasoning as this philosopher adopts Socialists might well say that if the laws of marriage give a husband absolute protection in his rights as to his family, if one is to be united to one, and if there may be, as it were, absolute possession of wife by husband or husband

by wife, why may not one have absolute property in two and three and twenty and the whole human race? Spencer says that the barons and marauders who originally captured the land from nature had no right to it without obtaining the consent of society. He thinks that the utmost right which an individual can have in the land is the right of a tenant renting from society, and by society he means the entire population of the world. It logically follows that before a man in Wales can be certain that his land is his own he must know that he has the consent of the people of Hong Kong, or Thibet, or Afghanistan—in fact, he must have the consent of all the peoples of the world. The lowest barbarians of Africa are a part of human society, and therefore, they have certain rights in the soil of England! Spencer taught these doctrines, however, in 1850. It is some consolation to know that he has now realised how utterly foolish and impracticable they are, and has renounced them. Let us hope that his return to sanity upon this subject may in some degree compensate the world for the injury which he has undoubtedly done by promulgating these absurd and pernicious notions. In his latest work, “Justice,” Mr. Spencer has washed his hands of the land nationalisation folly.

The nationalisation of the land is a Socialistic proposal; indeed, it is the fundamental measure of Socialism. Upon this foundation all Socialistic schemes are built. Mr. Henry George denies that his proposed method of dealing with the land is Socialistic, and in 1877 his party expelled all avowed Socialists from its ranks. But this farcical proceeding can deceive nobody. If land nationalization means anything at all it means Socialism as applied to the land. Mr. George is at great pains to show that the abolition of private property in land is entirely different from the abolition of private property in any other form of wealth. He cannot be congratulated upon his success in making this distinction clear to ordinary minds. To the average man it is self-evident that to abolish private property, and enact

that land shall be held only in common is both Socialistic and Communistic; and it is equally obvious that if Socialism were ever powerful enough to deal with the land in this way, it would immediately proceed to deal in the same way with other kinds of property. The nationalisation of the land was one of the chief demands of the International Association, and if that association could have obtained sufficient power in Europe it would have attempted to nationalise the land either by confiscating private property in land, or by the abolition of inheritance of land. All Socialistic movements virtually adopt the same attitude towards the ownership of land as the International Society did. This society proposed to secure the nationalisation, not only of the land, but of railways, canals, machinery, and all other means of producing wealth, and it proposed to do it by one or more of the five following methods:—1, Confiscation of property in land by the State; 2, The abolition of the right of inheritance, and the reversion of all property in land to the State on death of its present owners; 3, Enforced sale, with payment for improvements on the land, but with no payment for the land itself; 4, Enforced sale at ordinary market prices; 5, Purchase by general consent. Confiscation pure and simple would, of course, be downright robbery. The denial of the right of inheritance would equally be robbery, the only difference being that the value of the land confiscated would be somewhat less; because in the first case, the fee simple of the property would be confiscated, while in the second case the value of the life-interest only would be confiscated. Nevertheless, it would be confiscation just as much in the one case as in the other. If the third method were adopted the amount of property confiscated would again be somewhat less, as the compensation given would be merely for the rights of a tenant, while the possessor of the soil would be robbed of his rights as a possessor. It is quite evident that any serious attempt on the part of Socialists to take possession of the land by any of these three methods would lead to civil war.

John Stuart Mill, who, although he has generally been regarded as an orthodox economist, was a propagator of Socialism, and who is perhaps more to blame than any other English writer for the Socialist troubles which have now come upon us,* was in a certain sense a land nationalizer. His proposal was to confiscate the unearned increment, or that increase in the value of land which comes of itself, so to speak, without any effort or expenditure on the part of the owner : and he would allow the landlord fair compensation for the improvements which he had made. Perhaps, indeed, he goes a little beyond this. He says :

“ The claim of the landowners to the land is altogether subordinate to the general policy of the State. The principle of property gives them no right to the land, but only a right to compensation for whatever portion of their interest in the land it may be the policy of the State to deprive them of. To that, their claim is indefeasible. It is due to landowners, and to owners of any property whatever, recognised as such by the State, that they should not be dispossessed of it without receiving its pecuniary value, or an annual income equal to that which they derive from it. That is due on the general principles on which property rests. If the land was bought with the produce of the labour and abstinence of themselves or their ancestors, compensation is due to them on that ground ; even if

* Mill confessed in his *Autobiography* that both he and his wife held the general views of Socialists (p. 231). Mr. Sydney Webb asserts that most of our professors of political economy are Socialists, and adds : “ Indeed, those who remember John Stuart Mill’s emphatic adhesion to Socialism, both the name and the thing, in his ‘*Autobiography*,’ cannot be surprised at this tendency of economists.” Again : “ Mill tells us that he found a sure and certain hope in the progress of Socialism which he foresaw, and so energetically aided. We who call ourselves Socialists to-day, largely through Mill’s teaching and example, find a confirmation of this hope in social history and economics, and see already in the distance the glad vision of a brighter day.”—*Lecture on “The Progress of Socialism,” pp. 4 and 12.*

otherwise, it is still due on the ground of prescription. Nor can it ever be necessary for accomplishing an object by which the community altogether will gain, that a particular portion of the community should be immolated. When the property is of a kind to which peculiar affections attach themselves, the compensation ought to exceed a bare pecuniary equivalent. But, subject to this proviso, the State is at liberty to deal with landed property as the general interests of the community may require, even to the extent, if it so happen, of doing with the whole what is done with a part whenever a Bill is passed for a railroad or a new street." *

Henry George, however, and other teachers of extreme doctrines on this subject, will hear nothing of compensation to landlords in any shape. Their contention, to put it in its most most simple and naked form, is that the beggar in the street has as much right to the estates of the Duke of Bedford as that nobleman has himself, and that therefore part of the land should be given to the beggar without any compensation to the Duke. Men of this school hold that a landlord stands on the same level morally as a burglar: that what he possesses has been stolen from others; and that consequently he should be compelled to give it up without recompense. There can be no doubt that the majority of Socialists belong to this extreme

* "Principles of Political Economy," People's Edition, page 143. See that whole chapter, which shows much *animus* against landlords, and contains the germ of land nationalisation which has since expanded. Mill was thoroughly under the influence of the delusion that property in land and "property in moveables" are essentially distinct. In this chapter he also says that the Legislature may at pleasure "convert the whole body of landlords into fundholders or pensioners, make the Irish landlords mere rent chargers, and the Irish peasants proprietors." Can it be that Mill was the real author of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Acts?

school of land nationalizers. They would vote to-morrow for the most gigantic act of robbery that has ever been perpetrated in human history, and, so perverted and corrupt are their views, that they would pride themselves on having done a virtuous act. Even our Trade Union Congress, which is supposed to represent the upper working classes of Great Britain, has more than once voted enthusiastically in favour of land stealing by Act of Parliament.

If it be admitted for the sake of argument that Socialism will not proceed by confiscatory methods, but will endeavour to honestly purchase the land at the prices ruling in the market, then, however much we may respect the honesty of Socialists, we shall have to admit that they are guilty of the most egregious folly. Suppose we admit that the Socialists honestly desire to pay for the land, and that they make an attempt to carry out land nationalisation on this basis. It is estimated that the value of all the land and houses in the United Kingdom, exclusive of mines and railways, is at least forty-five hundreds of millions of pounds. Professor Fawcett, who gives this estimate, calculates that the annual interest on the same, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., would be more than two hundred millions of pounds, or more than double our national revenue. This is for land alone. If railways, mines, buildings, machinery, and other means of producing wealth were to be purchased as well, they would cost at least as much as the land. Here, then, we have another forty-five hundred millions of pounds, with interest thereupon of two hundred millions per annum, so that it would require ninety hundreds of millions of capital to buy the land and the other means of production, and after that amount had been expended there would be four hundred millions of pounds to be raised every year in the shape of interest. How is this money to be raised? By means of a graduated income tax, according to the Socialistic wise-
acres, which would simply be another method of robbing the industrious, the thrifty, and the prosperous, and of pro-

viding for the ne'er-do-weels of society at their expense. In the United States there are over 2,300,000,000 of acres of land, and the marketable value of this land is estimated to be, on the average, a dollar an acre. Consequently it would require 2,300,000,000 of dollars to purchase it. If this sum could be borrowed by the State at the very lowest rate the annual interest upon it would be greater than the whole national revenue of the United States. If all other means of production in that country were also to be purchased another 2,300,000,000 of dollars would be required, and a similar amount would have to be raised every year in order to pay the interest upon it. Even supposing that these enormous sums could be raised, and the interest upon them be met, there are other more general objections to this method of dealing with property which are even more serious. It is sufficient for the present purpose to show that the men who talk so glibly about nationalising land are mere visionaries, and that their schemes will not stand a moment's vigorous investigation at the hands of practical men. If the Socialists elect to proceed upon the principle of forcibly dispossessing every proprietor of the property which he now owns, then they must be pronounced thieves and plunderers; if they elect to proceed upon the method of purchasing all property at a fair market price, then they must be pronounced fools and blunderers. Mr. Gladstone was right when he pronounced land nationalisation to be either a folly or a crime. There is no third alternative.

Enough has been said to show that land nationalisation is nothing more than a dream and a delusion; that it is too immoral ever to be adopted by an honest nation, and too absurd to ever be seriously entertained by a sensible one. It is demonstrable that until the principle of individual appropriation of land takes root among a people they can never take even the first step towards a true civilisation.* If a

* See volume I of this work, Library edition, pp. 363-368, where this point is more fully discussed.

society could be constituted on the semi-Socialistic basis proposed by Mr. Henry George, *i.e.*, where every kind of property could be appropriated except land, that society would be afflicted with so capital a defect that it would be doomed to abide in the hunting, nomadic, half-savage state. No tribe or nation ever passes out of that state into the pastoral and domestic state until it has learned to establish and to respect the principle of private property in land. That principle is the very foundation stone upon which civilisation is built. For without it there can be no cultivation of the land, or in other words no production, since nobody will cultivate land which belongs to everybody; without production there can be no accumulation; without accumulation there can be no capital; without capital there can be no profitable labour; without such labour human beings cannot subsist in comfort, happiness, and prosperity. The land is our greatest and most efficient instrument of production, and where its productiveness is not called forth by the action of the powerful and beneficent law of individual appropriation, there poverty and misery must prevail. Fundamental laws must be accepted in their entirety if full advantage is to be reaped from them. This law is no exception. Only where private property, in land and all things else, exists, and is regarded as inviolable, can production and accumulation go forward, and commodities be freely distributed through the operation of the principle of exchange. No private property, no security; no security, no production; no production, no accumulations; no accumulations, no exchange; no exchange or accumulations, no capital; no capital, no labour; no labour, or production, and the earth would again become a desert and a marsh, and mankind a race of savages.

An exaggerated conception of the burdensomeness of rent appears to have generated many of these absurd notions as to the nationalisation of land. The fact is that rent, viewed as a charge upon land, is so insignificant when compared with other charges as to appear positively trifling.

No man, whether farmer or householder, was ever yet ruined by the amount of rent which he has had to pay. In the case of the farmer especially, the rent is a mere fleabite in comparison with the other expenses of working the land. There never was a more groundless, or a more dishonest, agitation than that which has been raised of late years against rent. Two centuries ago the gross rental paid in England and Wales was equal to twenty-three per cent. of the total produce; now the gross rental is equivalent only to rather less than six per cent. What then becomes of Mr. Henry George's theory that "rent swallows up the whole gain,"—that "with the increase of productive power rent tends to even greater increase"?

The rental of this country (seventy millions of pounds) is about equal to the amount paid in local rates, so that if Mr. George's scheme were adopted, and all rates and taxes were to be paid by the money which now goes for rent, the net result would be that we should in future have our rates and taxes paid for us. Simply that, and nothing more! And this is to create a new heaven and a new earth! This is the panacea for all our social, and many of our moral, ills! Poverty and misery, pauperism and vice, low wages and bad trade, unwholesome dwellings and unhealthy people, all are to vanish before this magician's wand. Mr. George has certainly befooled a good many thousands of presumably intelligent people, besides indoctrinating multitudes of the ignorant with dangerous Socialistic notions. The condition of the people in countries where rent is unknown, such as Norway and Russia, when compared with that of our own people, is enough to make us bless rent as one of the most beneficent of our institutions. It is an ascertained fact that farmers who have low rents to pay farm their land worse, and reap less benefit from it for themselves, than farmers who have to pay high rents, and also that a reduction of rent often resolves itself into a diminution of exertion, an increase of idleness, and general impoverishment. It is well known that the average Irish tenant is

worse, and not better, off as the result of the successive reductions of rent which have recently been given to him by a grandmotherly Legislature.

Before passing from this question of land nationalization it may be well to point out that a theory to which it owes much of its vitality, viz., the theory that the land originally belonged somehow to the "people," has recently been exploded. Mr. Frederick Seebohm, in his great work on "The English Village," shows that the Romans two thousand years ago used the same form of tenure, and the same division in boundaries of townships, as we find still in use, as for example, in the various boundaries of the manor and township of Hitchin. These forms and divisions are therefore of great antiquity. Under the ancient English system the open fields were the common fields—the arable land—of a village community or township under a manorial lordship. This open field system virtually continued down to the Middle Ages. Down to about a hundred years ago it existed in Scotland under the name of the "run-rig" system, and even now it prevails in some parts of Ireland. From an agricultural point of view it was, as has been conclusively shown by the Duke of Argyll and others, a very wasteful and ruinous system. In England the system was largely superseded by modern Enclosure Acts.

Under the open field system the land was divided into long narrow strips of half an acre, or an acre (though sometimes the strips were much smaller), separated from each other by banks of turf. In almost all ancient manors the land was divided into distinct parts, viz., land in the lord's demesne, and land in the *villeinage*; the former being the home farm of the lord of the manor, and the latter open fields, which were let to villagers at the will of the lord, and at customary services. The serfdom under a lordship was a semi-servile tenancy. It was not a degradation, but a step upward out of an older and more universal form of slavery.

As early as the time of Tacitus the German chieftains

and tribesmen were in their own country lords of serfs ; on the conquest of provinces they easily became lords of manors. The Roman *villa* was a slave-worked estate which grew into the manor. In England the Roman and German elements combined, and the common people became, with little visible change, a race of serfs. There is no evidence of the existence of any such thing as settled ownership of land by the common people in those early times, though sometimes tribes occupied a plot of land for a season and then shifted to another. The common people were not free to own themselves, much less to own land. The ancient world lived under a vast system of conquest and slavery, and the theory that the land was owned by the people in those dimly seen ages is simply a dream of disordered minds which have never looked into history. Mr. Seebohm sees no reason to believe in the existence of old free English communities. On the contrary, this great authority holds that the old Anglo-Saxon *hams* and *tons* were not free village communities at all ; but that they were from the first *manors* under chiefs or lords, with communities in serf-dom upon them. He brushes aside the idea of the German freeholders in a common " mark," and shows these to have been but the tenements of serfs paying " gafol " and doing " mark-work " for their lords. And this is equally true whether the manors on which they lived were boc-land of Saxon Thanes, or folk-land under the *villeins* of a Saxon King. Mr. Seebohm very justly remarks that it is as impossible to conceive that this complex manorial land system, which bristles with historical survivals of usages of the Romano-German province, could have been suddenly introduced into England by un-Romanised Northern piratical tribes of Germans, as it is to conceive of the creation of a fossil.

The ancient village community of East Anglia had peculiarities of its own, differentiating it from the tribal community of the West. But each had a form of the common or open field system. These two forms were

always kept distinct, and are still distinct in their modern survivals. The Eastern tribes were agricultural, and the Western pastoral, and the differences in the systems prevailing arose chiefly from this fact. The Eastern village system was improved during the Roman occupation, and at last under the three-field form of the open field system became the shell of the English village community. Both the village and the tribal community were pre-Roman, and existed at least 2,000 years ago. But none of the people or tribes were in any historic period free possessors of the soil.

Mr. Seebohm's views have been confirmed by M. Coulanges, who has recently published a remarkable account of his discoveries among the charters of the ancient communes, and who has clearly shown that the land was never, in the earliest times of which we have any record, allowed to be the free property of the people. The study of the "boc-land" and the "folk-land" systems among the Anglo-Saxons in this country is very complicated and bewildering. It is from these records that inferences were drawn that the system of free popular tenure had originally prevailed. But M. Coulanges has proved the fallacy of these inferences. He shows by most primitive evidence that chieftains and kinglets in the earliest times claimed to hold the land, and that only through great struggles did any popular tenure come into vogue.

The researches of these two students have therefore shattered the favourite and persistent assumptions of the "land reformers" that the land anciently belonged to the people; that under patriarchal conditions this popular tenure was universal; and that it was by slow degrees that the land was alienated, filched, and stolen from the people. These now exploded theories were bolstered up even by such great specialists in the history of the law of property as Sir Henry Maine, under whose protecting authority the doctrine had come to be regarded as irrefragable. Mr. Seebohm was the first to throw suspicion upon these

commonly accepted notions, and now M. Coulanges has demolished the whole structure which had been reared upon them. Now that Mr. Herbert Spencer has recanted his errors upon this subject, and that the views of Maine and his school have been proved to be false, there is perhaps some hope that just and rational ideas may prevail.*

II. The second great Socialist demand is that private property in general shall be abolished, and all means of production nationalised.

Under such a condition of things it would be impossible for any such thing as individual ownership, personal proprietary right, to exist: and this is a state of affairs so artificial, so monstrous, so entirely foreign to the nature of man that it is difficult for the human mind to conceive of it as actual or possible. Socialists themselves seem to be conscious that the idea is a mere phantasm, with no practical relation to man or his life, a dim abstraction with which speculative philosophers play at battledore and shuttlecock. For they talk round and round the subject, without once attempting to explain in simple language just what they propose to do and how they propose to do it, and in the end they leave the matter in quite as nebulous a state as it was in at the beginning. "Glittering generalities" from the stock-in-trade of the Socialist writer or orator; to ask him to condescend to particulars is to strike him dumb. He can dream—and dream—and dream; but he cannot tell his dreams coherently. This is another of his dreams—that all means of production other than land shall also be owned by the State; which is to use them not for profit, but for the general good. But oh! if one of these glib-

* Korea, an ancient and obscure Eastern nation, possesses a system of land nationalisation. The land is owned by the people, and held for them by the King, and rented to the people. This rent takes the place of all other taxes. Precisely Mr. Henry George's "single-tax" scheme! Korea is now re-awakening into life. It will be instructive to observe what she does in regard to her land system.

tongued orators would but deign to state exactly what is meant by "nationalising all means of production," and how it is sought to effect this somewhat considerable operation, how grateful we should be. We should then have something substantial to argue with instead of trying to grapple with phantoms.

There is Mrs. Besant, for example, who, before she wandered into the mazes of theosophy, was reputed to possess something of the gift of clear and explicit utterance. In her work on "Modern Socialism" this lady says:—"Socialism merely implies that the raw material of the soil and the means of production shall not be the private property of individuals, but shall be under the control of the community; it leaves intact a man's control over himself and over the value of his work—subject to such general laws as are necessary in any community—but, by socialising land and capital, it deprives each of the power of enslaving his fellows and of living in idleness on the results of their labour instead of on the result of his own." "Merely implies!" Here is an airy way of treating a serious subject, if you like. This high-sounding sentence looks very plausible until it is carefully examined; but Mr. Bradlaugh, Mrs. Besant's quondam partner, asked a few pertinent questions in relation to it which at once pricked the bubble and let out the wind. What is meant by "means of production?" The phrase covers a miner's pick, the gardener's spade, the ploughman's plough and horses, the tools of a carpenter, as well as the plant of a huge ironworks, the costly and elaborate machinery of a factory, or the rolling stock of a railway. All these "means of production," we are told, are to be under the control of the community, and not to be the private property of individuals; whilst the workmen who use these "means of production" are to retain intact their control over themselves and over the value of their work. How is this to be brought about? In a Socialistic State all the means of production are to be used in common; all labour is to be controlled by the

State; and the State is to appropriate all the produce of labour, and is to maintain the labourer out of the common stock. Are we to understand that every citizen can, as of right, require the State to place at his or her disposal, for an indefinite period, such "raw material" and "means of production" as the workman or work-woman thinks necessary? If the instruments of production are to be obtained by the labourer when he pleases, upon his own terms, and without security, how can the community control the means of production? If on the contrary the instruments of production can be obtained by the labourer and used by him only under complicated, onerous conditions, how can Socialism "leave intact a man's control over himself and over the value of his work?" Besides, suppose there are more labourers than can be furnished with instruments of production, what is to be done? Is the State, which absolutely controls the raw material and the means of production, to determine the kind of labour for which each man or woman is best fitted, or is each man and woman to be allowed to do whatever work they choose without any regard to their competency for it? If every man is to retain control over himself, then he must be allowed to work as and where he likes, or not to work at all. If the worker, having received raw material from the State, changes the form of that raw material and adds value to it by his labour, how is he to retain intact the control of the value of his work? Is he to take the finished article to the market where he believes the highest price can be obtained for it, or is the State to control the sale of the finished article? If the latter, how is the workman to get his share of its value? If the former, how is the State to get back the value of its raw material? These are only a few of the questions which crop up when we talk of the means of production being owned by the State. Such questions a practical minded man wants to have answered; but the visionary Socialist declines to answer them on the ground that scientific Socialism has no detailed schemes or plans of organisation.

Then we have Mr. Tom Mann, Mr. James Mawdsley, Mr. Michael Austin, and Mr. William Abraham, who were (very unwisely) appointed members of the Labour Commission (and were thus given a vantage ground for the propagation of their pestilent Socialistic ideas), and who have magnified their office (though not themselves) by presenting a minority report. Herein they say that they are "driven to look mainly to a wise extension of collective action for the elevation of the standard of life of the most necessitous sections of the wage-earners;" that "the extensive failure of employment which results from commercial depression appears to us to be 'an inevitable consequence of private enterprise'; that is, of the management of industry by individual capitalists for the purpose of personal gain;" and that "the only real remedy for the instability caused by commercial fluctuations is, we believe, the gradual substitution of the collective for the competitive administration of industry." But we look through their report in vain for any clear statement as to the nature of this "real remedy," or for any guidance as to the manner in which it is to be applied. The authors of this report, poor fellows, have evidently laboured under a most humiliating consciousness of their inadequacy for the task they have undertaken; but they had to say something, and so we have the dreams and the glittering generalities again. Once, indeed, they seem to touch the ground, and that is when they recommend that the Board of Trade and the London County Council should prepare a Bill "for the establishment of a representative Dock and Harbour Board for the Thames," which, among other things, is to inquire into the feasibility of Citizen Mann's plan for cutting a new channel through the Isle of Dogs. But for the most part they flounder about in a sea of uncertainty, deal in hypothesis and speculation, and have no hard grip of anything. All through their report we come upon such phrases as "we believe," "it has been said," "is believed to be," &c. This is not the kind of language that comes from minds possessed by clear and

sound convictions, and it is not likely to carry conviction to the minds of others.

Mr. Mann has also favoured the world with a memorandum of his very own on "The State and Municipal control of Industry," the main feature of which is to concentrate the London Docks and Warehouses by cutting the new channel previously referred to. In concluding this memorandum Mr. Mann says, "The cost of carrying out this proposal is estimated at about four and a half millions, including reclaiming the necessary foreshore for warehouse, shed, and quay accommodation. *But the financial part of the question I leave to others.*" This is delicious! It is so like the Socialists. They can go on making plans for the next hundred years, provided that somebody else will pay for them being carried out. Mr. Mann's chief object would be gained if he could get five millions of money spent, for it would come mostly out of the pockets of the detested capitalists, and go mainly into the pockets of the darling labourers. If the scheme were a failure in the end, why then let another be tried on the same terms.

When we were considering the question of the nationalisation of land, reference was made to the nationalisation of such other means of production as mines, machinery, railways, factories, buildings, and other means of producing wealth, and it was stated that the cost of these in this country would be forty-five hundred of millions of pounds, the interest upon which would be two hundred million pounds a year, whilst a similar purchase in the United States would require twenty-three hundred million dollars, the annual interest upon which would amount to more than the entire annual revenue of the country. If it would take more than the whole annual revenue of the United States to pay the interest on the money devoted to the purchase of the land, where would the money come from (an equal amount, mark) to pay the interest on the money laid out in acquiring the other means of production? And if we had to raise two hundred millions annually in England

(double our national revenue) as interest on the purchase money of the one form of property, how should we raise another two hundred millions as interest on the purchase money of the other form of property? Socialists do not trouble their heads about these difficulties, partly because they realise that to meet them honestly would be the end of Socialism, and partly because they mean to take all kinds of property without paying for it.

III. The third demand of Socialism is the abolition of the right of inheritance.

Here we must distinguish between the right of inheritance and the right of bequest, which, though they are often confounded, are essentially distinct. The right of bequest is the right to bequeath one's property to others; the right of inheritance is the right to receive what is bequeathed to us by others. The former is inherent in the idea of property; the latter is not. The right of inheritance, however, is frequently extended beyond this simple form, and made to include a legal claim on the part of children and relatives to property which has not been bequeathed to them. But in this sense the right of inheritance is an artificial one, resting upon mere expediency, and is not necessarily implied in the idea of property.

According to John Stuart Mill, property implies "the right of each to his (or her) own faculties, to what he can produce by them, and to whatever he can get for them in a fair market; together with his right to give this to any other person if he chooses, and the right of that other to receive and enjoy it;" from which he deduces the conclusion "that although the right of bequest, or gift after death, forms part of the idea of private property, the right of inheritance, as distinguished from bequest, does not." What he means is that a man has a right to bequeath his property to whomsoever he wills, and that those to whom he bequeaths it have a right to receive it; but that where property has not been bequeathed, and is left by its owner without any disposition at all, nobody has a right to take

or receive it, not even the relatives of its late owner. This may be admitted without giving up any element vital to the principle of private property. What may be done with the property of persons who die intestate is a minor consideration. Bentham, and other economists, have advocated that when there are no direct heirs the property should go to the State. So be it, if the Legislature so wills it. We are not concerned to guard the rights, or the supposed rights, of collateral or distant relatives to inherit property which has not been bequeathed to them, merely because it belonged to one of their kinsmen. What we are concerned to guard is the right of an owner of property to bequeath it to whomsoever he wills, relatives or no relatives, and the right of the persons to whom it is bequeathed to receive and enjoy it.

Now, it is obvious that Socialists, when they speak of the right of inheritance, generally mean the right of bequest. It is this that they are anxious to abolish. They would deny to property owners the right to dispose of their property after death, and empower the State to seize all such property, the object of course being to ultimately transfer all property to the State; for it is evident that every owner of property must die in the course of a comparatively short time, and when the last of them had died all property would have been transferred to the community. Even the abolition of the right of bequest would be no new thing. Among the Romans, as Mill points out, no such right existed originally, and even after it was introduced it was in a restricted form, as the law reserved for each child a legitimate portion which the parent could not will away from it. The French law, as modified by the Revolution, permits the parent to bequeath only a portion of his property equal to the share of one child, each of the children taking an equal portion. So that a French estate, instead of being entailed individually is entailed collectively; instead of being settled upon one child it is divided among all the children. This was a democratic, or a Socialistic, device,

designed to break up large properties and to prevent the formation of such properties in future. The evidence does not prove that France is any the better for this compulsory division of property, or that the law is in any wise superior to our own, whilst it entails much loss and inconvenience by causing commercial and manufacturing establishments to be broken up on the death of the proprietor.

In England the right of bequest not only exists, but, as befits the freest country in the world, it is unlimited. Why should it not continue to be so? Mill says: "Bequest is one of the attributes of property: the ownership of a thing cannot be looked on as complete without the power of bestowing it, at death or during life, at the owner's pleasure; and all the reasons which recommend that private property should exist recommend *pro tanto* this extension of it." And then, as if he felt that he had gone too far in following a sound principle, Mill allows his Socialistic notions to pull him back, and proceeds to propose various limitations upon the exercise of the right of bequest, which he has only just declared ought to be exercised "at the owner's pleasure."* But limitation of the right of bequest is one thing, and its abolition is another. It is for the latter that the Socialists are clamouring.

At this point we may remark upon the extraordinary nature of the proposals which have been made in the British Parliament during the session of this year, 1894, by Sir William Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which have been passed through the House of Commons, though not (at the time of writing) through the House of Lords. These proposals were contained in the Budget, or Finance Bill, and related to what are called the "Death Duties." Under our law, probate and estate duties are levied upon the property of any person who dies, and the proceeds of these taxes form part of the revenue of the country.

* For the nature of these limitations see Mill's *Political Economy*, People's Edition, pp. 138-140.

Hitherto this taxation has been levied upon the sound principle that property ought to pay for the protection which is afforded to it by the State, large properties paying more and small ones less. On this principle an estate worth £5,000 paid so much, and an estate worth £50,000 paid ten times as much. What could be fairer? But this arrangement does not suit the democratic Socialists because it lets off the wealthier man too easily. They do not pretend that the wealthy man does not pay adequately for the protection which is afforded to him by the State, but they contend that he could pay more and still be very well off, and that therefore he ought to pay more, and that the extra revenue thus raised should be devoted to improving the condition of the poorer classes of the community. A great political party in this country has now adopted this thoroughly unsound and dangerous principle, and a majority of the British House of Commons have affirmed it. We have heard a British Chancellor of the Exchequer preaching the strange and the monstrous doctrine that when a man dies the property which he has left belongs, not to those to whom he has bequeathed it, but to the State; that the State has the right to take as much of that property as it chooses; and that it is only by the grace and favour of the State that the heirs of the late owner can receive anything at all.

The doctrine thus laid down by Sir William Harcourt was still further developed during the debate upon this measure, on July 9th, 1894, by the Attorney-General (Sir John Rigby) and the Solicitor-General (Mr. R. T. Reid). Sir M. Hicks-Beach proposed two new clauses dealing with "interests in expectancy," the object of which was to do away with "the iniquitous proceeding by which as many as five, or even ten, cumulative legacy duties might be charged upon the unfortunate legatee who would ultimately benefit by the legacy simply because that legacy had come to him through half-a-dozen or more persons who never enjoyed it at all." To this Sir John Rigby thought it proper to answer

that while "a great deal was heard about the unfortunate people who had to pay these duties," he thought they ought rather to be considered fortunate people who had any property on which to pay them; and Mr. R. T. Reid said he "failed to see any hardship in the case of a man standing fifth in succession coming in, through the death of four other people, to £100,000, being asked to pay the duty on the four lives," and that "the man would be exceedingly fortunate in coming into the property." Mr. Goschen pointed out that this was a proposal to put exceptional taxes upon a man because he was lucky; while, as we have seen, Sir William Harcourt specially taxed men because they were rich. This is the new democratic doctrine of the "taxable margin." It might more fitly be called political brigandage, the authors of which are worthy to rank with Jack Cade and Dick Turpin. For obviously the reasoning of the Law Officers of the Crown, if logically applied, would justify any exaction whatever on the part of the State *provided that it left those whom it plundered enough to live upon*. In principle there is no difference whatever between these extortions on the part of a democratic Parliament and the depredations of an Oriental potentate. At one time the King of these realms took what he would from whomsoever he liked without payment; the House of Commons now claims to exercise the same prerogative. And just as Dick Turpin thought himself a virtuous man because he robbed only the rich, so our modern legislators think it rather creditable than otherwise to plunder if their victims be but wealthy.

This scheme of "graduated taxation" is another democratic expedient; it is another blow struck at property; and its aim is to break up large estates. How it is likely to work may be inferred from the statement of the Duke of Devonshire that his successor under the new order of things will probably find it impossible to spend money on improving the estates and keeping up such palatial residences as Chatsworth and Hardwicke Hall. Indeed, this innovation

is likely to produce results graver and more far-reaching than its authors anticipate. It is probably the most signal triumph that Socialism has yet achieved in this country. This is a limitation of the right of bequest which even John Stuart Mill would hesitate to approve. The British Government, not content with making a man pay for the services it renders him, now proposes to fine him because he is rich, and to fine him the more the richer he is, and to do this upon no intelligible principle except that of robbing the rich, who command few votes, to pamper and demoralise the poor, who command many votes. What a just and dignified proceeding!

We have now considered two of the leading principles of Socialism—the abolition of private property and the abolition of the right of bequest. If but one serious attempt could be made to put these proposals into practice there could never be a second attempt to do it, and there never could be a second attempt because there would be no property left to distribute, simply because no man would accumulate property if he were liable to be forcibly dispossessed of it. These proposals, as has already been more than once remarked, are by no means new. This is forcibly illustrated in an account which our good and great King Alfred translated from Orosius, a geographer who lived in the fifth century, in which translation King Alfred describes a voyage made to the Baltic in his own times, by a navigator named Wolfstan. Here is the story which the king translated from Orosius:—

“And there is a custom amid the Estum, that when there is a man dead, he lieth within, unburnt, a month amid his relations and friends—sometimes two months; and the kings and other particular men so much longer, as they have more wealth; sometimes they be half-a-year unburnt. They lie above the earth in their house, and all the while that the body is within there shall be drinking and plays until the day when they burn them.

“Then the same day that they choose to bear them to

the pile his property that remains after this drink and play is divided into five or six parts, sometimes more, as the proportion of his wealth admits. They lay these along, a mile apart, the greatest portion from the town, then another, then a third, till it all be laid at one mile asunder; and the least part shall be nearest to the town where the dead man lieth.

“Then shall be collected all the men that have the swiftest horses in the land, for the way of five miles or six miles from the property. Then cometh the man that hath the swiftest horse to the furthest portion and to the greatest, and so on, one after the other, till all be taken away, he taketh the least who is nearest the town, and runs to it; then each rides away with his prize, and may have it all; and because of this custom the swiftest horse is inconceivably dear.

“And when the wealth is all thus spent, then they bear the man, and burn him, with his weapons and garments. Most frequently all his wealth is spent during the long lying of the dead man within.”

So that there is nothing new under the sun. Even this proposal to abolish the right of inheritance, that is to abolish the rights of the widow and children to the property which a man leaves behind, and to make that property common property, has been tried over 1400 years ago. It was tried in a rude fashion, it is true, but the principle was the same as that which is now advocated by the Socialists. And what was the result? Why simply that the dead man's relatives and friends managed to spend all his wealth in debauchery and dissipation during the interval which elapsed before he was buried, which of course they did in order to prevent the property going into the hands of the strangers. The nett result was that neither the man's relatives nor the general community were benefited, whereas, if his relatives had been permitted to take possession of his property in the ordinary way the principle of private property would not only have been held sacred, but the

community would also have been the richer. The proposal to abolish private property in order to enrich those who are now poor is the maddest that was ever made outside of a lunatic asylum; for if it could be carried out it would not only not enrich those who are now poor, but it would emphatically make poor those who are now rich.

IV. The fourth demand of Socialism is that the wages system shall be abolished.*

Socialists are very fond of denouncing what they call "the iron law of wages." This, as we have seen, was Lassalle's speciality. He asks: "How is it that the workman is so badly off when there is abundance all round? Because of the 'iron economic law of wages,' according to which the average wages of labour always remain reduced to the subsistence necessary, conformably with the nation's standard of life, to the prolongation of existence, and to the propagation of the species. What is the result of this law, which is unanimously acknowledged by men of science? Perhaps you believe that you are men? But economically considered you are only commodities. You are increased by higher wages like stockings, when there is a lack; and you are again got rid of, you are by means of lower wages—by what Malthus, the English economist, calls preventive and destructive checks—decreased like vermin, against which society wages war."

Lassalle appears to have imagined that scientific economists, because they acknowledge the existence of a law of wages, are therefore responsible for having created that law. Just as reasonable would it be to assume that Newton was the author of the law of gravitation because he discovered it. Economists do not invent the laws which they expound; they find them at work in all communities of men; they are compelled to recognise them as the outgrowth and the

* The nature of wages, their source, and the impossibility of regulating them by law, are discussed in the first volume of this work, which see.

expression of the nature and the needs of man. Their business is merely to generalise from facts, to systematise and expound the laws which govern the production, distribution, and consumption of the commodities necessary to mankind. There are such laws, and they cannot be evaded; they will work according to the quality of their own nature, and work out certain results, and no others. If economists find a law of wages at work, they cannot help it, nor can they alter it.

"Whatever mankind produce must be produced in the modes, and under the conditions, imposed by the constitution of external things, and by the inherent properties of their own bodily and mental structure. *Whether they like it or not*, their productions will be limited by the amount of their previous accumulation, and, that being given, it will be proportional to their energy, their skill, the perfection of their machinery, and their judicious use of the advantages of combined labour. *Whether they like it or not*, a double quantity of labour will not raise, on the same land, a double quantity of food, unless some improvement takes place in the processes of cultivation. *Whether they like it or not*, the unproductive expenditure of individuals will *pro tanto* tend to impoverish the community, and only their productive expenditure will enrich it. *The opinions, or the wishes, which may exist on these different matters do not control the things themselves . . .* We cannot alter the ultimate properties either of matter or mind, but can only employ those properties more or less successfully to bring about the events in which we are interested." *

Ignorant sentimentalists would do well to lay these wise and weighty words to heart. "Whether they like it or not" the laws which govern production, and therefore wages, which originate in production, will continue to operate. Their opinions and wishes, however influential

* John Stuart Mill, "Political Economy," Book II., chap. I.

they may be with masses of voters, will be laughed to scorn by the great forces which ultimately determine the issues involved in these fundamental questions.

Another mischievous assumption underlies Lassalle's theories, viz. this, that there is something derogatory to the workman in the fact that the value of his labour, like the value of other commodities, is, and must be, determined by its relative scarcity or abundance in the market. But no free workman, who is at liberty to sell his labour how and where he likes, ever felt degraded by this fact, any more than he feels degraded by conforming to the law that he must eat if he would live. It would be possible to draw a very flattering portrait of a human being by dilating upon those propensities which he possesses in common with the brute, and ignoring his intellectual and moral qualities, just as Lassalle strives to belittle the workman by comparing him to merchandise, and leaving out of view the higher aspects of the matter. The truth is that Socialistic hostility to the wages system is prompted by two motives, both of them of a very low order, the first being a desire on the part of the workman to be on an equality with his employer, which originates in envy, and the second being a desire to appropriate to himself a larger share of the product, which originates in greed. Envy is the father, and greed the mother, of Socialism.

At this point we reach the fundamental error of Socialism, with which the name of Karl Marx is specially identified, and which is responsible for the greater part of the evil produced by the system. This error is that labour creates value; that the value of any commodity is represented by the worth of the labour which is materialised in it; and that the value given by labour to any commodity cannot be increased by exchange. In this theory there is no place for capital; capital has no legitimate function to perform, and hence it exploits and spoils labour; therefore capital should be abolished. Put in a sentence, Marx's principal doctrine is that all capital is created by labour, and ought consequently to belong to the labourers.

This doctrine is the corner stone of modern Socialism; demolish it, and the whole edifice falls to the ground. Once admit that labour is the sole source of wealth, that capital has no share in creating value, and you will be bound on every principle of reason and justice to admit the whole Socialistic contention, expropriate the capitalists, abolish private property, and hand everything over to the community. Here, then, we are face to face with the crux of the whole question.

Now, in the first place, it is obvious to the simplest mind that labour of itself will not create value. Labour may be merely destructive, not constructive. A man might exert a good deal of labour in hacking timber about, and do nothing but harm. But even useful and constructive labour, spent upon fashioning some natural product into articles for man's use, as mahogany into furniture or iron into machinery, cannot of itself give value. For the wooden and iron goods may when manufactured be so far from a market as to be practically worthless. Demand, as Adam Smith shows, is an important element in the creation of value, and it must be effective demand. Labour spent on producing articles for which there is no effective demand has no value at all in an economic sense. Who is to put the goods on the market? Not the man who makes them, for he knows nothing about that part of the business. This must be done by a man who knows the market, who can find customers, who has business tact and ability, and who inspires confidence by the uprightness of his character—by the capitalist, or his manager. Besides this, the goods could never be produced at all if the capitalist did not set his brains to work, and advance to the labourer money to live upon while the work is being done, for the return of which he is content to wait until he can market his goods, which may be months or even years. Yet we are asked to admit that the man who designs the work, provides a factory and machinery for its being done, pays for it when done, and then has the labour and anxiety of realising its value in the market, has, forsooth! had no part in creating

the value of the product, which ought to go in its entirety to the man who simply performed the manual labour. And to make the insult the grosser, we are asked to acknowledge this on grounds of high morality and superior intelligence.*

This pernicious fallacy has, however, got abroad among our working men, and it is being sedulously propagated by Socialist agitators. It has produced most of the strikes and labour disputes which have done so much injury to our trade, and it bids fair to do more mischief in the future than it has done in the past. And yet it is so evidently false that it is a mystery how it can gain acceptance even among those who are much below the average in point of intelligence.†

V. The fifth demand of Socialism is that the competitive system in general should be abolished.

This is something like asking for the abolition of human nature, or the abolition of physical law, or the abolition of religion, or of anything else that is fundamental and indestructible. The competitive system is, on the whole, a

* "It is said that a man has a right to the cloth he produces as an operative. *He would have, if he had produced it.* The operative only gives form to costly materials which capital brought together. It is one of the common cries of Socialists that the operative classes should have the railways that they build, and the cloth they weave. We do not deny the principle that the labourer has a right to what he produces when we assert that the product of our great industries must be divided between labour and capital. It is perfectly evident that the product is the result of a number of causes operating together, and that the labourer is far from being the sole cause of production. He does not produce the material; he does not bring the material to the place where its form is changed; he would find, in most cases, the moment all other forces than his own were abstracted from the multiplex industry, that nothing would be produced by himself."—JOSEPH COOK.

† This point is more fully discussed in volume 1 of this work, chapter 1, pp. 17-26, Library Edition.

blessing and not a curse. It cuts two ways, and it does much more good than harm. Even John Stuart Mill is constrained to admit this. He says: "Competition is often spoken of as if it were necessarily a cause of degradation and misery to the labouring class; *as if high wages were not precisely as much a product of competition as low wages.*" Again: "Wages, like other things, may be regulated either by competition or by custom. In this country *there are few kinds of labour of which the remuneration would not be lower than it is if the employer took the full advantage of competition.*" Mill shows that the action of competition is modified by custom, so that it does not operate with its full force and effect even in those cases where there are no obstacles to restrain it. "Political economists generally, and English political economists above others, have been accustomed to lay almost exclusive stress upon the first of these agencies; to exaggerate the effect of competition, and to take into little account the other and conflicting principle (custom). They are apt to express themselves as if they thought that competition actually does, in all cases, whatever it can be shown to be the tendency of competition to do." Herein the economists have been very unwise. They have unwittingly done much to foster the irrational agitation against the competitive system from which we are suffering in these times. It is no exaggeration to say that under the system of free competition the competent man is able to work his way upward to the position to which he is entitled by dint of his ability and energy, if not universally yet generally, and that the incompetent man, so far from being thrust down to the very lowest place, is generally retained in a better position than he deserves, if he possesses moral worth, by reason of the way in which the action of competition is counteracted by custom. In other words, competition produces its fullest effect on its good side, where it can help the worthy and the capable, and its smallest effect on its bad side, where its tendency is to press down the unfit and the incapable. Mill refers only to the

effect of custom in modifying the action of competition; but surely there are other and more powerful agencies which are working in the same direction. The ministrations of religion and charity are largely directed to the same end. How many thousands of men and women would succumb in the struggle for life, go down under the force of competition, if they were not upheld by benevolent men and women acting from the highest motives? If the object of the competitive system is to secure "the survival of the fittest," the object of a thousand agencies around us is to ensure the survival also of the unfit. It is easy enough to vamp up a few plausible objections to the competitive system. But who would gain from its abolition? Not the strong and the capable, for the system is favourable to them. Nor yet the weak and the incapable, for although the system may in some respects bear hardly upon them its action is so modified as to make their position better on the whole than it would probably be under any other.

VI. The last demand of Socialism is for a graduated Income Tax.

This is a favourite weapon of Socialistic cupidity and envy, and it has been received with marked favour by some statesmen who would hesitate to acknowledge themselves Socialists. But it is entitled to no respect or support from upright men. For what is it? Nothing more nor less than a device for extracting money from wealthy men for no other reason than that the money is required by the State. No sound or intelligible principle rests at the bottom of it. No civilised State has ever declared it a crime to be rich; no such crime is known to the Moral Law; even Jesus Christ did not lay down any such principle. But if it is not a crime why should a man be punished for it? For a punishment it is to any man to be deprived of his lawful property without legitimate cause. If it be said that it is no hardship to a man to be heavily taxed when he has plenty left, it may be replied that the same reasoning would justify the

taxation being increased until the man had only sufficient left to provide a bare subsistence. What was said in a former place with regard to graduated death duties will apply with equal force here. These expedients are dishonest; they are forms of theft disguised under a cloak of legality; they are opposed at once to the Moral Law of God and to that innate sense of justice in the heart of man which corresponds with it. Of course the object of these devices is to discourage large fortunes, which is another way of discouraging industry and prudence, which is another way of checking production, which is another way of increasing poverty. Socialists desire all these things, but sensible men, and above all, rulers of nations, would do well to sternly discountenance them. A graduated Income Tax would, no doubt, make rich men poorer, and the number of rich men fewer, but it would also lessen production, decrease wealth, destroy capital, cripple industry, diminish commerce, and lead to general impoverishment, simply because no man would strive to make money if he could not be sure of keeping it. Under such a condition of things the poor would be the chief sufferers; for the worst thing that can happen to a poor man is that he should be doomed to live in a poor country.

We have now passed in review the principal demands of Socialism, and we have demonstrated that they are both delusive in theory and would be injurious in practice. But let us suppose for the sake of argument that they are as true as we have proved them to be false, and that they would be as beneficent in operation as we have shown they would be disastrous; and further, that they have actually been granted, and that the Socialistic system has been established in this country. What state of things would then exist among us here? There would be no private property either in land or capital; no man could say that aught was his own: everything, from an estate down to a salt-cellar, would belong to the community. We should eat the food and wear the clothes of the State; cultivate

State land and live in State houses ; manufacture and sell State goods ; be attended by State doctors and buried in State graves. There being no individual capitalists, no man would have any particular interest in guarding property, in preventing waste, in making the most and the best of things. In factories and workshops, on railways and in mines, there would be no head or proprietor possessing authority over the workmen, but every man would be equal with every other man. What would be the output of work under such circumstances ? It may be safely asserted that it would not be more than one quarter of what it is under the present system. Human nature being what it is, if you establish an order of things under which everybody is assured of subsistence, the certain result would be that the majority would work as little as possible, and not at all if they could help it, and that only the very few who love work for its own sake would be in any degree industrious. To suppose that Socialism would induce men to exert their energies to the utmost is to fly in the face of both reason and experience. It is proverbial that men who are in the public service, whether they be men of education and ability such as civil servants or labourers engaged upon public works, do not display anything like the diligence and fidelity which are manifested by men in similar positions who serve private employers ; while it is equally notorious that men who deal with public money spend it with a recklessness and an extravagance which if practised in relation to their own affairs would speedily land them in the Bankruptcy Court. It may indeed be laid down as an axiom that the State does not secure the services of the most able men, and that those who do enter its service do not work up to the point of efficiency which they would be required to attain under private employers. If this is so under the present competitive system, when Government servants are stimulated by the example of private employers, what might be expected under a collective system, where there would be no examples of exceptional zeal to emulate, but where

the all-important consideration would be who could do the least.

It follows, therefore, that the Socialistic State would, in order to get even a modicum of necessary work done, be compelled to employ an army of inspectors and managers, whose duty it would be to organise industry and compel obedience to the commands of the central authority. If industry were organised upon the principle of the division of labour, which is the only principle upon which efficiency in labour and economy of production can be secured, such overseers would be absolutely essential, since the mass of workmen would be quite ignorant of the processes of production except their own small share in them, and therefore utterly incapable of general direction and oversight. Consequently the organisation and management of the industries of the community would of necessity be thrown into the hands of a few men of special ability. Socialists admit this. They style these organisers “*omniarchs.*” Now, just consider what enormous powers would be committed to these men. They would have to decide, firstly, what work each man should do, and to do this from the time when he was a child; secondly, what punishment should be inflicted upon idlers and recalcitrants who would not work at all, and they would be armed with power to inflict that punishment; thirdly, the hours of work; fourthly, what commodities should be produced, what proportions of each, and how they should be distributed; fifthly, who is to cultivate the rich land and who the poor land, who are to perform the pleasant tasks and who the unpleasant. The world has not yet seen the men to whom these prerogatives might be safely entrusted; it never will see such men. The best of men would be perverted and corrupted by the exercise of such powers, and would inevitably degenerate into tyrants of the most odious description. The oligarchies of the ancient world, the corrupt and oppressive rule of an Oriental potentate, the much exaggerated tyranny of the Stuart Kings, may all be described as

states of glorious freedom compared with the condition of things which would prevail under the "omniarchs" of Socialism.*

Let it be clearly understood, then, that individual freedom, personal choice, can have no place under Socialism. No man would be permitted to do his own work, or to choose his own method or time of doing it; he must work as and when it suits someone else. What he had produced would in no sense belong to him; he would have no share in it, no control over it. Nor would he, as compensation, receive wages which he might spend as he liked; he would receive merely a subsistence. Even his manner of subsistence would be all arranged for him by external authority—what food he should eat and what he should drink, how he should be clothed, what house he should dwell in, what books he should read, how long he should sleep, the whole programme of life would be settled for him. The only part left for him to play would be to do as he was told. Individuality would be annihilated. No man or woman could live his or her own life, or develop his or her qualities of character according to the best light to be obtained and under a sense of personal responsibility to God. In all essential respects the position of the individual under Socialism would correspond with the position of the slave under chattel slavery. But the advantage would be with

* It has actually been proposed that municipalities, in return for their generosity in placing working people in comfortable dwellings, should be empowered to *flog the idle, the drunken, and the dissolute*. "This condition surely deserves attention. Would the poorest people in the parish desire to be housed at somewhat lower rents by the Marylebone Vestry, with the understanding that the Vestry would flog the idle, the drunken, and the dissolute. As a member of the Vestry I should wish to decline this unpleasant responsibility." (The Rev. Llewellyn Davies, *Good Words*, 1872, page 94.) If the State is to flog when it merely does something towards providing dwellings, what powers is it to have when it provides everything?

the slave, inasmuch as he had to deal with a master who might be considerate and humane, whereas the Socialist slave would have to deal with ambitious and corrupt and tyrannical "omniarchs." Under Socialism the majority would be miserable slaves, "dumb, driven cattle," marching in deadly routine before a few haughty officers wielding the whip of authority. What a workhouse is now, that would the whole country be then on a large scale. Bureaucracy, officialism, centralisation, despotism, oppression, in their most corrupt and gigantic forms, would grow rampant. It would be impossible to move a limb without encountering the goads of authority. People would be governed to death. Moral paralysis, intellectual stagnation, social atrophy, would be the inevitable results of such a condition if it could continue long enough. But it is an insult to human nature to assume that a system which would thus outrage and degrade it could ever be established, and much more to suppose that it could ever be permanently rooted. There is but too much reason to fear that certain nations, our own among them, will march too far along the road whose goal is Socialism: but this will be because these people do not realise what Socialism is, and what it involves. When they do realise this they will start back in amazement at their own folly and in alarm at the perils which they have so wantonly courted. One thing which they have not yet clearly understood is that the right of private property and the enjoyment of individual liberty are vitally connected; so that if you kill one you kill both. If Socialism could once be adopted in its entirety by a whole nation its fruits would be so deadly that its own children would arise and devour it: the revolt from it would be so terrible that its very name would be an offence for ages to come.

Having shown that there could be no liberty under a Socialistic system, it now remains to show that neither could there be equality. Of course in theory all would be upon an equality under Socialism, and the advocates of that system urge as one of its greatest recommendations

that it would produce equality. But inequality is fundamental; it inheres in the nature of man and in the constitution of things. Where will you begin your feeble and foolish attempts to create an artificial equality? In the school? The schoolmaster will tell you that his pupils differ almost endlessly in capacity and endowment. One is receptive, another forgetful; one dull witted, another sharp as a needle; one animated by a love of learning, another bored by his lessons as a drudgery. God has been before you in the school. Those children were meant to differ; they must differ; all the coercive laws, all the repression and regulation in the world, cannot alter their differences. Will you begin with the cradle? God has been before you there, too, and the slumbering babe contains within it the germ of the coming man, just as the seed enfolds within it the flower and the fruit which will bloom by-and-bye. Seeds apparently alike produce flowers of various colours and fruits of various flavours: for each contains within itself that which is peculiar to its own nature. So a thousand babes, all very much alike in their cradles, will grow into a thousand men and women of the most diverse characters. Somewhat of the result is due to environment and training; but the essential quality, the element which differentiates the one from the other, is original, and was there at birth. Nay, before birth even. Farther back than that the mysterious life-process, the up-building of an individual character, begins. Of John the Baptist it is said that he was "filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb"; and of the Prophet Jeremiah God said,—“Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.” Here we stand face to face with the profound mystery of human life. How little we have to do with ourselves or our children after all! Human parentage has no doubt some part to perform in the formation of a child's character. But how little! Even

the sex of an infant cannot be determined by its parents. The whole of the wondrous hidden life-process which takes place before birth is independent of their volition. That is the time when God, the great Author and Artist, does His work. “For Thou hast possessed my reins: Thou hast covered me in my mother’s womb. I will praise Thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are Thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from Thee when I was made in secret; and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect; and in Thy Book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them.” * At every birth the creative act is renewed; and God stamps upon the newly born spirit an impress which gives to it individuality, imparts to it a bias and quality of its own, makes it a self, unlike any other self that ever was. All the equality-mongers cannot undo that Divine work. What do we mean when we say that the poet is “born, not made”? Was Shakespeare made by any human influence; was his genius the product of his environment? If so, why have we not had another Shakespeare?

This foolish and unnatural doctrine of equality is a legacy from the French Revolution. It is a “rabble charming” word, as South says, and if a demagogue will juggle with it, he will soon have multitudes at his heels. The Americans, infected by the French Revolutionary temper, said in their Declaration of Independence that “all men are born equal.” But the authors of that Declaration knew this assertion to be false. Equal indeed! What did they do with the Red Indians? Exterminated them wholesale. What did they do with the Negro? Made him a slave and a chattel, denied him the rights of a man, compelled him to cultivate a foreign soil for their benefit, and grew rich upon the fruits of their labour. It is ever so. They who prate

* Psalm 139, verses 13-16.

most glibly about equality are the last to grant it. The United States, who wrote into the Constitution: "all men are born equal," enslaved six millions of negroes. England, who has never preached equality, paid twenty millions of pounds to purchase negro slaves their freedom. Which was the nobler? France, where this doctrine of equality has been preached for a century, and where men have been guillotined for wearing too fine linen or having too white hands, has been more restless and unstable and discontented than any other European nation; and the United States have proved "that, after a very short trial, equality creates discontents as fatal as inequality; that, for want of regulation, freedom may degenerate into mere lawlessness; and that people who have been accustomed to bully all other people, end by fighting among themselves."

There is no such thing as equality of nature, of temperament, of talent, of ability, of position, or of possessions; but there is in civilised countries, or at all events in civilised countries where Christianity holds sway, an equality of *status*, or of right. That is to say, both rich and poor equally enjoy the right of freedom, the right to be protected by the law both in person and property, the right to be treated justly, and, generally, the right to do as they please provided that they do not infringe the liberty of others or offend against the interests of society. This is the kind of equality which both religion and reason contribute to establish and to support, and it is compatible with the largest inequality in other directions. Indeed this inequality exists in England to-day, for we are all equal before the law, but in all other respects, physically, mentally, morally, and socially, we differ in every conceivable manner and degree, to our great advantage. The equality of Socialism is not equality of *status*, but equality of condition, and this form of equality is impossible because it is opposed to the laws of nature and of God, and repugnant alike to the reason and the conscience of man.

Socialism, properly understood, although it is visionary as to its aims, is in its essence a system of course

materialism. Its philosophy is carnal. It is a monstrous perversion of truth and order, and if adopted it would infallibly destroy the beauty and the harmony of human life. It begins at the wrong end. It thinks that man's nature can be changed merely by changing his environment; in other words, it magnifies the environment and belittles the man. But the man is always greater than his environment. The true method is to change the ideas, the dispositions, the heart of the man; this being done, his environment may be left to take care of itself.

CHAPTER III.

WARNINGS FROM HISTORY AND EXPERIENCE: THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM.

WE have now considered the spirit which animates Socialism, and the proposals for social regeneration which are the outgrowth of that spirit; and we have endeavoured to prove that these proposals, viewed as the basis of a new order of society, are so inherently absurd as to be incapable of being reduced to practice. It will be our aim in the present chapter to emphasize the impossibility of Socialism by reviewing some of the futile efforts which have been made by its votaries in the past to embody its spirit in a suitable social organism.

History abounds with examples of Socialistic schemes which have been melancholy, if sometimes brilliant, failures. With the wreckage of such schemes the shores of history are strewn, and every piece of such wreckage is aflame with danger-lights to those who have eyes to see; it is a beacon warning to the mariner on the economical ocean that he had better avoid those dangerous shoals. From the Incas of Peru down to the present-day schemes of Count Tolstoi and the prophet Harris, it is everywhere the same lamentable story. Futility, folly, calamity, and ruin have ever been associated with the hair-brained attempts of Socialistic visionaries to resist the laws which God has ordained for the government of human society. The prophet Harris, although he could induce the brilliant but unstable Laurence Oliphant to renounce fortune and social position, and become a menial servant in his community, has not achieved any notable success, either in his own country or in ours, in the direction of changing the laws upon which society is

organised. It is not likely that he will ever achieve any such success, and the attempt which a few of his fervid disciples are making to circulate his works in the country will share the fate of all similar efforts. They might as well try to resist the incoming tide, or to reverse the laws in accordance with which the tide ebbs and flows. Only the other day it was announced that Count Tolstoi's Socialistic colony had been broken up. It was established on the estate of a wealthy man in the neighbourhood of Charkoff, and this man gave the colonists every facility for carrying their utopian ideas into practical effect. But there was too much human nature amongst the colonists to admit of the dream being realised. Count Tolstoi, like other dreamers of his class, took little or no account of human nature.* But human nature is the rock upon which these Socialistic enterprises usually split themselves into pieces. There is a great deal of human nature in this world, and it is very hard and stubborn material to deal with, and any philosopher or reformer who omits to take it into account as the chief factor with which he has to deal has virtually failed before he begins. Even God himself undertakes no work so difficult as that of governing free and rational moral agents. In this region even infinite love, wisdom, and power are frequently baffled and defeated. It was easy for the Deity to create material worlds and universes; for mere matter has no inherent power to resist His omnipotent

* Tolstoi, like some academical Socialists nearer home, does not practice what he preaches. Mrs. Stockham, a lady doctor of Chicago, who spent a day or two with him, says that he holds it to be degrading to merely handle money or property, and accordingly he delegates to his wife the control of the household and the management of his pecuniary affairs. He is willing to degrade his wife! Mrs. Stockham further states that Tolstoi has a "luxuriously furnished study, and horses, carriages, and servants at his command—although they are his wife's." We have a class of men in this country who invest their property in their wives.

decree. Human beings, however, as they are free agents, possessing reason and will and conscience, which, within certain limits, are free to discern, choose, decide, and act as they like, can, and do, oppose even the Almighty to His face, and resist Him successfully to the very end of their lives. Even God fails to do as and what He would with men and women, over thousands of whom He has to make the pathetic lament—"I would, but ye would not." If even God is baffled and thwarted by human nature, how vain a delusion it is for Socialistic philosophers to suppose that this same human nature is going to be in their hand as clay in the hands of the potter. No doubt these men are marvellously wise and powerful, in very deed the greatest of the race, at least in their own estimation, but the world is not yet quite prepared to accept and worship them as demi-gods, although they have exalted themselves to this position so far as it is in their power to do so. One of the latest revelations of the prophet Harris is that his nature has undergone some mystic process by virtue of which he has attained immortality; he claims that he will never die, even in a bodily sense; but that he will live in the flesh and upon this earth for ever and ever. Poor deluded fool! Yet this pretender is acclaimed by his followers as the wisest of the wise.

History presents no example of a permanently successful Socialistic community. In almost every age such communities have come into being, and the total number of them which have been started during the Christian era must amount to many thousands; yet out of them all not one has survived into the present age. They have all been limited and local in their character; they have all been short lived; they have all failed to attain the objects for which they were commenced; they have all come to an ignominious end. Such imperfect success as they did attain was entirely due to the fact that the community was so small that the principle of Individualism remained more powerful than the principle of Communism; in other words, their success was

owing to the very principle that they were established to extirpate. Every community of this kind, its members being few in number, was under the absolute control of some strong-willed chief, and of course his government was individualistic. The theory of Socialism is that every member of the community is to be equal, and if this theory was carried out the meanest member would have as much power as the head himself. But the theory never is carried out; in fact the theory of Socialism is so absurd that even those who profess to accept it cannot possibly put it into practice. The facts and principles and laws which operate in the world are too powerful for them. Again, each of these communities held its own property, and that property was distinct from the property of the general community in the midst of which this particular community resided, and distinct from the property of individuals who were members of that general community. And further, by reason of these Socialistic communities being small, each member was able to estimate pretty accurately the value of the common stock, and also to calculate the value of the increase which was made to that common stock, and the value of his own share of that increase. Frequently members had the option of leaving the community when they desired, and of taking with them that proportion of the common property which was due to their individual exertions. In short, these Socialistic enterprises were economically very little different from co-operative communities, in which, although the whole of the property belonged to the entire community, the individual members neither merged their individuality nor gave up their claim to a proportionate share of the general wealth. It is virtually a misnomer to call such communities Socialistic at all, for they have been more individualistic than Socialistic, and whatever success they may have achieved must be credited to the action of the principle of Individualism which was operating in and through them. A Socialistic nation, pure and simple; a State organised upon the principles of Socialism, that is to

say, a State in which all land, all means of production, all labour, and all wealth belong to the State, and no portion to any individual whatever; a State in which no man or body of men are allowed to own what they earn by their hands or brains, and in which absolute equality has been enforced, the brightest and cleverest men being crushed down to the level of the dullest and most stupid—such a State as this, which is precisely what a Socialistic State would be, the world has never seen. Consequently we have no experience at all in regard to such a State to guide us. And we are never likely to have any; for it is an absolute impossibility to organise a State upon such a basis, or, if it could be organised, to maintain it for a single week.*

The fact that no Socialistic enterprise has ever survived or triumphed is a strong presumption that no such enterprise will ever survive or triumph. The failure of all such efforts constitutes the clearest possible proof that Socialism is against the order of nature, against the divinely ordained constitution of things, against God Himself. God is an Individualist. From the inherent necessity of His nature He must be so, for He can have no equal. Even the universe is not large enough for two infinite beings. And God made man an individualist, too; and all efforts of “reformers” will fail to make him anything else. Every man is distinct from every other man. He is a separate

* Dr. A. Schäffle, who, though himself a Socialist, has recently written a book entitled *The Impossibility of Social Democracy*, in which he claims to have proved “that Social Democracy, as the positive practical programme of a new order of society, is once for all impossible,” points out “that the basis of Socialism is as yet individualistic, the State being regarded not as a society organic to good life, but as a means subservient to the individual’s needs *qua* individual.” This is an important truth, as it goes to show that, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as true Socialism at all; for how can that be Socialism whose very basis is individualistic?

and original creation; he has a personality which is different from that of any other human being. No two men are, or can be, alike. Each has his own endowments, his own place, and his own work. And these are peculiar to himself alone.

It has been remarked in the course of this work already that the remedies which are now being proposed for the alleviation or the cure of social evils are not new, and that they have all been tried before. It has been shewn that the State has attempted to fix the hours of labour, to regulate wages, to determine the price of food and clothing, and that all these expedients instead of removing the evils against which they were directed have aggravated them.* Why, then, should we again resort to methods which have already been discredited by failure? If a sick man should call in a physician whose medicine made his disease ten times worse than it was before, he would dismiss the physician and cease to take the medicine. Why should we not act in the same reasonable and wise way in regard to the social physicians whose nostrums are warranted to cure all the maladies in the body politic? These quacks and their patent pills have all been tried before, and they have never effected a single cure. They have simply made bad worse. Experience is the best teacher; but it is usually the last teacher to which men resort. To learn from experience, whether it be our own experience or that of others, is the part of wisdom; but the bulk of men are not wise, and consequently they do not profit from experience. It is just here that the Socialistic demagogue finds his opportunity. He plays upon the ignorance, the prejudices, and the unthoughtfulness of his hearers.

Socialism, strictly defined and properly understood, has, as we have already remarked, no traditions to appeal to. This fact will be seen to be very significant when it is fully apprehended. Most movements have a past which can be

* See Vol. I., pp. 238-248, Library edition.

appealed to by their enthusiastic supporters. But the most enthusiastic Socialist cannot point to an age in which, or to a nation by whom, the principles which he advocates have been carried out into practice. Socialism is all in the air. It is entirely a matter of theory. We do not, however, require to see Socialistic principles put into practice in order to be able to understand their effects, any more than we need to apply a match to a barrel of gunpowder in order to assure ourselves that it will explode. We know well enough that from the nature of fire and gunpowder they cannot be brought into contact without an explosion following; and we know equally well that the principles of Socialism and the laws of human nature and human life are so diametrically opposed to each other, that any attempt to force the latter into conformity with the former must infallibly lead to war, misery, and general ruin. It is as certain as any problem in mathematics that if a state of things could be created under which no man could enjoy in security what he had earned by his own labour, or what had been given to him by others who had laboured for it, then no man would be at the pains to make the best use of his abilities, his energies, and his opportunities. In such a state of affairs it would pay a man no better to be industrious than it would to be lazy, and the natural consequence would be that every man would be lazy. In a community where no man cared to work, there would be no production of wealth, the land would either lie barren, or would be cultivated only sufficiently to afford a meagre subsistence; as for manufactures, they could not be carried on at all; while the arts and sciences would absolutely perish. Under such a condition of things every man would have to work harder than any man works now, even to get the barest subsistence, whilst no man would have either wealth or leisure. Wealth cannot be accumulated in any country where property is insecure, and where wealth is not accumulated no man can have leisure, and where no man can possess leisure it is impossible for the higher arts and refinements of life to have

any existence at all. By the simple expedient of putting an end to the principle of private property you can also put an end to the productiveness of labour and the accumulation of wealth, and to put an end to these is to plunge society from civilisation back into barbarism. Our civilisation, which has been the growth of centuries, and which appears to be permanent and unshakable, reposes absolutely upon the naked principle that every man shall be entitled to own what he earns, and to hold it against all the world, and that in order to enable him to thus hold it the whole forces of the State shall be placed at his disposal. That principle destroyed, the whole fabric of our civilisation comes tumbling down about our ears.

It is proposed to now consider in some detail certain experiments which have been made in the direction of attempting to establish Socialism, both in its modified form of State Socialism and in its extreme form of Communism, in order to demonstrate that the system, when it is subjected to the test and strain of fact and brought into actual conflict with human nature, utterly and hopelessly breaks down.

One notable experiment of this character was made by the early Christians, and this will be fully considered in a subsequent chapter. Here we will glance briefly at Socialistic communities which were established in Pagan countries, in the Middle Ages, and in modern times.

In ancient Sparta Socialism was tried on a national scale. Under the influence of Lycurgus, their great law-giver, who dreamed that he could root out inequality, the Spartans re-divided their land in order that all the people might be equal as to their possession of property. In fact the basis of the system was the share and share alike principle which is so energetically advocated among ourselves to-day. When this work of reconstruction was completed, its author looked upon it and pronounced it "very good"; for he is said to have exclaimed enthusiastically—"How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!" Lycurgus also endeavoured to deal with personal or moveable property

on the same principle, very much as is done now when a man dies and all his effects have to be realised and the proceeds divided equally among his heirs. But this task proved too much even for so determined a ruler. Foiled in his purpose that way, he abolished the existing currency of gold and silver, and substituted iron money, on which he placed so high an artificial value that, according to Plutarch, a whole room was required to store about thirty pounds worth, whilst nothing less than a yoke of oxen could remove it.

The motto of Lycurgus was "thorough." He realised that in this matter nothing could be done by halves. So he undertook to regulate the sexual relations and the growth of the population. All Socialists do this, partly because freedom of choice as regards sexual matters would involve the exercise of similar freedom in other directions, and partly because they realise that the natural increase of population is a rock upon which all their schemes shiver themselves to pieces. Lycurgus permitted children to be begotten only by those persons whom he considered to be physically and mentally qualified to produce a strong progeny. The theories of Ibsen, Mr. Grant Allen, and Mr. G. Bernard Shaw upon this subject are not new or original; they are borrowed from Pagans like Plato and Lycurgus. After their children were born the Spartans were not allowed to do as they pleased with them. The children had to be taken before public inspectors to be examined, very much as children are now taken in this country to be vaccinated. If the inspectors decided that they were fit to live their lives were spared; if otherwise they were thrown into a cavern near Mount Taygestas called *Apothetae*. That is Socialism in practice! Be it ever borne in mind that Socialism is, and is advocated as being, a return to the savage state. That is the Socialistic conception of the dignity of human nature! That is how it shows its respect for human life! Could there be a more wicked, or brutal, or insane practice? Morally it was murder; politically it was madness. If all the delicate children born in England had been destroyed in

their infancy many of our greatest poets, artists, musicians, divines, philosophers, statesmen, warriors (including Nelson), and merchant princes, would never have been heard of.

Strange to say, this odious artificial system managed to exist in Sparta for some centuries ; a fact which proves that the Spartans were not quite so heroic a race as historians have described them to be, for only a nation of slaves would have submitted to the ignominy of being governed as they were. However, the spirit of Socialism, as Plutarch shows, gradually corroded the Spartan character, so that the nation fell any easy prey to its enemies. And it is a significant fact that the very vices which Socialism ought to have eradicated, and which its advocates claim that it will eradicate, viz., greed and self-indulgence, were precisely those that led to their ruin.

In ancient Peru there was a system of national Socialism, and perhaps it was on a larger scale than has ever been tried anywhere else. Mr. Herbert Spencer thus describes it : “ Here the ruler, divinely descended, sacred, absolute, was the centre of a system which minutely controlled all life. His leadership was at once military, political, ecclesiastical, judicial ; and the entire nation was composed of those who, in the capacity of soldiers, labourers, and officials, were slaves to him and his deified ancestors. Military service was obligatory on all taxable Indians who were capable ; and those of them who had served their prescribed terms, formed into reserves, had then to work under State superintendence. The army, having heads of 10, 50, 100, 500, 1,000, 10,000, had besides these its superior commanders of Ynca blood. The community at large was subject to a parallel regimentation ; the inhabitants, registered in groups, being under the control of officers over tens, fifties, hundreds, and so on, and through these successive grades of centres reports ascended to the Ynca governors of great divisions, passing on from them to the Ynca, while his orders descended rank from rank till they

reached the lowest. There was an ecclesiastical organisation, simply elaborate, having for example, five classes of divines ; and there was an organisation of spies to examine and report upon the doings of the other officers. Everything was under public inspection. There were village officers who overlooked the ploughing, sowing, and harvesting. When there was a deficiency of rain, measured quantities of water were supplied by the State. Any who travelled without authority were punished as vagabonds ; but for those who were authorized to travel for public purposes there were establishments supplying lodging and necessaries. ' It was the duty of the decurions to see that the people were clothed,' and the kind of cloth, decorations, badges, &c., to be worn by the different ranks were all prescribed. Besides this regulation of external life, there was regulation of domestic life. The people were required ' to dine and sup with open doors, that the judges might be able to enter freely ' ; and these judges had to see that the house, clothes, furniture, &c., were kept clean and in order, and the children properly disciplined ; those who mismanaged their houses being flogged. Subject to this regulation, the people laboured to support this elaborate State organisation. The political, religious and military classes, throughout all their grades, were exempt from tribute, whilst the labouring classes, when not serving in army, had to yield up all produce beyond that required for their bare sustenance. Of the whole empire, one third was allotted for supporting the State, one third for supporting the priesthood, who ministered to the manes of ancestors, and the remaining third had to support the workers. Besides giving tribute by tilling the lands of the Sun and the King, the workers had to till the lands of the soldiers on duty as well as those of the incapables. And they had also to pay tribute of clothes, shoes, and arms. Of the lands on which the people maintained themselves, the parts were apportioned to each man according to the size of his family. Similarly with the produce of the flocks.

Such moiety of this in each district as was not required for supplying public needs, was periodically shorn, and the wool divided by officials. These agreements were in pursuance of the principle that 'the private property of each man was held by favour of the Ynca, and according to their laws he had no other title to it.' Thus the people, completely possessed by the State in person, property, and labour, transplanted to this or that locality as the Ynca directed, and when not serving in the army living under a discipline like that within the army, were units in a centralized regimented machine, moved throughout life to the greatest practicable extent by the Ynca's will, and to the least practicable extent by their own wills. And naturally, along with militant organization thus carried to its ideal limit, there went an almost entire absence of any other organization. They had no money, they neither sold clothes, nor houses, nor estates, and trade was represented among them by scarcely anything more than some bartering of articles of food."

What was the type of character, what the quality of the people, turned out by this system? Exactly what might have been expected, just what may always be predicated of any such system in any age or country, or under any circumstances; the type of the individual was that of "a reed broken with the wind," the nation was simply a multitude of pap-suckers. "The subject was simply a machine, an automaton," says Dr. Letourneau, who more fully describes the baby-people of Peru in these terms:—

"The great mass of the people were governed much in the same way as a careful cultivator will bring up and look after his domestic animals. Every male inherited his father's profession; he was not allowed to choose another employment. By right of birth a man was either labourer, miner, artisan, or soldier. The population, divided into groups of 10, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 persons, each having its chief, was attached to the soil. The Government

officers treated the people kindly, as though they were a flock of sheep. Every man had his task set out for him beforehand ; he was married, a portion of the ground was given to him for his maintenance, his morality was watched, he was dressed, and in case of need assistance was given to him. In the empire of the Incas liberty and misery were equally unknown. . . . The laws were not numerous, and were very severe. Capital punishment was common. Such was the penalty for theft, for adultery, for murder, for blasphemy against the Sun or against the Inca—they were both considered equal—for setting fire to a bridge, and for other crimes.—If the inhabitants of a town or province revolted they were exterminated. . . . A superhuman power conducted everything, ruled everything, foresaw everything. The subject was a simple machine, an automaton without initiative movement, bound to serve a superior caste, and also an all powerful master.”*

Prescott, the historian, says : “ The great hardship in the case of the Peruvian was that he could not better his condition. His labours were for others rather than for himself. However industrious, he could not add a rood to his own possessions nor advance himself one hair’s breadth in the social scale. The great and universal motive to honest industry, that of bettering one’s lot, was lost upon him. The great law of human progress was not for him. Without money, with little prosperity of any kind, he paid his taxes in labour. No wonder that the Government should have dealt with sloth as a crime. It was a crime against the State, and to be wasteful of time was in a manner to rob the exchequer.” So that, whilst the wretched Peruvian had no hope of bettering his condition however hard he worked, he was made to work hard by a stringent penal code which punished idleness with great severity as a crime.

* Sociology, by C. Letourneau, p. 480.

It may be admitted that there is something fascinating and romantic about the story of the invasion and conquest of Peru by Pizarro and his disreputable army, and the discovery of the elaborate social system of the Incas, the simple sun-worshippers, who had never seen a horse, nor a white-faced human being, nor a ship, nor a cannon, but who had organised themselves into the most singular Socialism that the world has ever seen. None were permitted to be rich ; none to be idle ; none to fall into abject poverty. A certain low average of material comfort prevailed, so that none could die of starvation. But then negro slavery also secured a similar average of material comfort, and a slave could not fall into the direst depths of poverty ; but this is no argument in support of slavery. If poverty was unknown among the Incas, so was also wealth. Where men are free they are free to be poor as well as to be rich.

Only in the bracing air of freedom can strong character be developed. In order to breed a race of self-reliant people you must train them to rely upon themselves. Let the State do everything for them, and the result will inevitably be that they will become incapacitated to do anything for themselves. A nation of youths in swaddling-bands means a nation of men on crutches. We have entered upon the downward path here. Time was when the Englishman did everything for himself—even down to being his own policeman ; and those were the times when the Englishman was a match for any three men of another nationality. The most glorious age of our history—the age of Milton and Shakspeare and Bacon, of Queen Elizabeth and Drake and Raleigh, the age when we repulsed Armadas and made ourselves masters of the sea, and at the same time produced the greatest poems and books in our language—was an age when the entire population of England numbered only about a couple of millions. But one average Englishman of that day was worth ten average Englishmen of this. What has made the difference ? Many things, no doubt, but certainly this one among them as chief—that the

Englishman has been continually growing less self-reliant, and more dependent upon the State. He delegated to the State the power of police, and agreed to pay it in the shape of taxes for the protection which it afforded to his property ; and now the State turns round upon him, denies that it has received any delegated power from him, denies even his right to delegate such power, and claims that both he and his property belong to it, and that it has power to dispose of both as it wills. Then the State was little, and the individual much ; now the individual is little, and the State much ; soon the individual will be nothing, and the State all in all. Already we are governed, over-governed, mis-governed, until we don't know where we are, what we can do and what we cannot. Ever at our elbow is the State, saying, "Thou shalt not" ; whereat the natural man is so irritated that he exclaims, "To hell with the State !" Unless the average Englishman some day says something like that in earnest, and acts upon it, the end of all this legislative meddling and coddling is certain—the undoing of England. As the result of yielding to Socialistic principles bit by bit of our liberties, we have reached the stage when we are indisposed to act for ourselves and to ever cry out to the State for help ; and there is no surer sign of the decay of manhood than that.

During the Middle Ages, including under that term the period stretching from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries of the Christian era, hundreds of attempts were made to establish systems of Christian Socialism and Communism, and out of them all not one succeeded. The significance of this long record of failure is not realised unless we bear in mind the fact that the men and women who founded these communities were in all cases people of marvellous faith, enthusiasm, and energy, and in many cases of the highest purity of character as well. They were not mere politicians, acting from low motives of expediency or selfishness, but zealots, who sacrificed all for the sake of their cause, and who verily believed that they were striving to produce the true

model of the Christian society upon earth. If in such hands Socialism could not succeed, how can it ever succeed in any ?

The system which prevailed in the monasteries, though it is often appealed to by modern Socialists as evidence of the practicability of their theories, was not really Socialism at all. In the first place it was voluntary, while Socialism is compulsory. There is a whole world of difference there. It is quite possible for a number of good people to voluntarily co-operate together on Communistic principles under the influence of lofty motives and a spirit of self-surrender ; it is equally possible for a number of bad people to voluntarily form a similar community, and to make animal enjoyment and self-indulgence the end of their being. The voluntariness is the essence of the matter. The monks may have been good at first ; they certainly became bad at last. Even in its highest and best form, however, Monachism was not Communism pure and simple, such as would be produced by Socialism. The original members of the community may have agreed to have all things in common ; but they also agreed, by their rule of celibacy, that they would not have their numbers increased. A rule of celibacy would hardly be practicable in a Socialistic nation. Nor could we expect in a general community the sustained religious fervour which was the mainstay of these monastic institutions. Besides all this, there is the fact that these small communities had the great world outside to draw upon ; their property was distinct from that of the general community, that is to say, they were left by the larger society in the quiet enjoyment of their own property. But this could not be the case when the whole of the general community was Socialistic. There is, therefore, no true analogy between the monastery and the Socialistic State.

Among Protestant communities the Moravian Brotherhood has perhaps most nearly approached the Socialistic ideal. Upon this the Rev. M. Kaufmann has the following weighty observations :—

“The question suggests itself whether the social arrangements of the Moravians could be adapted to society at large, and if so, whether their success has been such as would render the experiment advisable.

“We have seen how religious fanaticism and theological differences brought about the dissolution of that branch of the Moravians among whom the most thorough-going Communism prevailed. We have seen also how religious fervour, in its most simple form, has all along been the main source of strength in the still existing branch, the success of which, numerically and financially, has depended entirely on the vigour and purity of the religious life. The abatement, therefore, of religious ardour, or the development of religious animosities, might at any time prove a serious danger to the society. How then, could any large body of human beings, say a nation, or aggregate of nations, be held together socially in the presence of religious differences and the animosities they are sure to engender among its component members?”

“But suppose these difficulties could be overcome, and the ‘enthusiasm of humanity’ relied on by modern speculators could replace religious ardour, it would still remain a doubtful proposition whether the civilisation and contented simplicity of the Moravians is the highest possible condition to be sought for by social reformers. Has their general culture and mental development reached that height of perfection which we, in this age of refined intellectualism, regard as the highest ideal? Has progress in the arts and sciences, and the enlightened toleration which accompanies such advancement, been the distinguishing work of this excellent society? What would happen if their patriarchal simplicity became the general rule for all mankind? Retrogression, rather than progress, would be the result. The dull monotony of life, deprived of that which embellishes and gives the charm of novelty and variety to existence, would soon become insupportable. The regular tread of the companies of workers proceeding day after day to their

labour in mute self-absorption, acquitting themselves of the task rigorously assigned to them by authority; the uniformity of sombre dress and furniture, with its oppressive influence on the senses; and the passive obedience to orders, without the exercise of spontaneity and individual discovery, would deaden the mental activities and reduce the rational creature to the condition of a self-acting machine. Even the softer emotions of love and friendship in the natural selection of the sexes would be reduced to system or left to chance. All this, so far from ameliorating the condition of humanity, would only substitute other social evils for those already existing, and cast a sadness and gloom over human hearts, unrelieved by those rays of a better hope, and unsoftened by those higher aspirations of the spiritual life which now console the Moravian Brethren in the midst of voluntary privations, and in the absence of the varied enjoyments of a cultured society."

We now come to notice some modern experiments in Socialism. America has been a fruitful soil for these, as indeed it has for fads, crotchets, sects, movements, insane ideas and experiments of every kind. It is not without reason that the American people have invented the word "crank" to describe one who is half a fool and half a madman; for long-haired men and short-haired women abound among them.

In general it may be stated that all these Socialistic communities have come to grief from two causes: first, the innate idleness of human beings, which is so strong that they will only work when the results of their labour are enjoyed by themselves; and secondly, the impossibility of satisfactorily regulating the sexual relations apart from marriage and the family institution. Even the famous Brook farm experiment was wrecked on these rocks. Eminent men like Hawthorne, Emerson, Channing, Dana, Curtis, Parker, and Dwight, and such women as Margaret Fuller, were members of this community. Surely such elect and superior people ought to have made it a success if its

principles were sound ! But Channing's testimony is that "the great evil, the radical, practical danger, seemed to be a willingness to do work half thorough, to rest in poor results, to be content amidst squalid conditions, and to form habits of indolence."* So much for the idleness difficulty. As to the sexual difficulty, Mr. W. H. Dixon says : "The men and women who joined this community hoped to live a better and purer life than they had done in the great city. They wanted to refine domestic manners, to ennoble manual toil ; and to some extent they achieved these expectations. They did not seek to interfere with marriage, nay, they guarded that holy state with reverence ; yet the spirit of fraternal association was found to weave itself with infinite subtleties into the most tender relations of man and woman. Fear came into the common dwelling, and even if this pic-nic of poets and lovely women had not been a failure on other grounds, the rivalries of Zenobia and Priscilla would unquestionably have sent Brook Farm the way of Red Bank."

Red Bank was another of these Socialistic communities in the United States, which grew out of the teaching of Fourier, the French Socialist, though the immediate agent in establishing it was an enthusiast named Albert Brisbane, who began lecturing on the subject in New York in 1842. Horace Greeley, a sensible enough man in most things, lost his head on this, and took Brisbane and his scheme up, familiarising the American public with them through his paper, the *New York Tribune*. But Greeley soon found out his mistake, and confessed that the success of the experiment was prevented by many of its members, of scores of whom, he said, "the world was quite worthy, the conceited, the crotchety, the selfish, the headstrong, the pugnacious, the unappreciated, the played out, the idle, the good-for-nothing generally, who, finding themselves utterly out of place, or a discount in the world as it is, rashly

*Memoir of W. H. Channing, by Frothingham, p. 18.

conclude that they are exactly fitted for the world as it ought to be."

Brisbane and his dupes collected enough money to build a large hotel, containing sufficient rooms to accommodate 150 people, and started their community at Red Bank, Monmouth County, New Jersey. Single rooms were allotted to bachelors and spinsters, double rooms to married people, and *suites* of rooms to families. There were also various offices, a storehouse, and a common hall, but no church or chapel. Of course the principles at the basis of the community were equality and the holding of all things in common.

The members, though few in number, appear to have comprised all classes, a goodly proportion being young men and women. The prettiest and cleverest girls were selected to wait on the rest of the community (so they recognised inequality, not only in personal comeliness, but also in ability!), and on the ground of equality "a scholar, a clergyman, and a banker" were chosen to sweep the floors and clean the boots. How they must have enjoyed it! A good deal of transcendental nonsense about the glory of manual work—an exaggeration and perversion of the true dignity of labour—appears to have been taught in this community, and to have been largely responsible for its break-down. Such maxims as these seem to have been fervently taught: "Menial work is held to be contemptible only because it is done by insignificant people;" "That which is done by the best soon comes to be thought the best." Reducing this peculiar wisdom to practice, the heads of the community set the best people to do the drudgery; but the best people revolted. Red Bank was a materialistic concern from beginning to end. Whilst manual labour was extolled, science was neglected, and religion was altogether banished.

What did more than anything else, however, to upset the harmony was the question of sexual relations. The single men complained that they had to work for children who

were not their own, and "smart young maids perceived that they had to bear the burdens without sharing the pleasures of married women," while "folks with small families objected to folks with large ones." In addition to this it was found that the annual division of profits, upon which great hopes had been built, was a solemn farce, inasmuch as there was seldom any surplus to divide. The consequence was that discontent burst forth, in other words human nature asserted itself, and Red Bank was exploded. The estate was sold to New Jersey farmers, and the community dispersed. Mr. W. H. Dixon says: "The attempt to found a Socialistic State in combination with the family group began to show signs of failure the very instant the settlers reached Red Bank, though the community did not disperse until they had spent the best part of their shareholders' capital."

On the general question of these American Socialistic communities, Mr. John Rae has the following valuable observations in one of the 1890 numbers of the *Contemporary Review* :—

"The idleness of the idle was one of the chief standing troubles in all the Socialistic experiments of the United States. Mr. Noyes gives us an account of forty-seven Communistic experiments which had been made under modern Socialistic influences in the United States and had failed, while Mr. Nordhoff, on the other hand, furnishes a like account of seventy-two communities, established mainly under religious influences (fifty-eight of them belonging to the Shakers alone), which have been not merely social but economical successes, some of them for more than a hundred years, and one is struck with the degree in which the idler difficulty has contributed to the failure of the forty-seven, and in which the continual and comparatively successful conflict with that difficulty by means of their peculiar system of religious discipline has aided in the success of the other seventy-two. Mr. Noyes is himself founder of the Oneida community, and bases his

descriptions of the rest on information supplied by men who were members of the communities he describes, or on the materials collected by Mr. Macdonald, a Scotch Owenite, who visited most of the American communities for the purpose of describing them. No causes of failure are more often mentioned by him than 'too many idlers' and 'bad management.' Not that industry was relaxed all round. On the contrary, it seems to have been a peculiarity of the Owenite and Fourierist communities that the industrious wrought much harder (and in most of them for much poorer fare) than labourers of ordinary life. Macdonald was surprised at the marvellous industry he saw as he watched them, and would say to himself: 'If you fail I will give it up, for never did I see men work so well and so brotherly with each other.' But then a little way off he would come on people who 'merely crawled about, probably sick (he charitably suggests), just looking on like myself at anything which fell in their way.' A very common feeling among members of these communities seems to have been that they were far more troubled with idlers than the rest of the world, because their system itself presented special attractions to that unwelcome class. 'Men came,' says one of the Trumbull Phalanx, 'with the idea that they could live in idleness at the expense of the purchasers of the estate, and their ideas were practically carried out, while others came with good heart for the work.' The same testimony is given about the Sylvania Association. 'Idle and greedy people,' says the writer of this testimony, 'find their way into such attempts and soon show forth their character by burdening others with too much labour, and in times of scarcity supplying themselves with more than their allowance of various necessities, instead of taking less.' Idle and greedy people, no doubt, did get into these communities, but these idle and greedy people constitute, I fear, a very large proportion of mankind, and the point is that Socialistic institutions unfortunately offer them encouragement and opportunity. The experience

of American Communism directly contradicts John Stuart Mill's opinion that men are not more likely to evade their fair share of the work under a Socialistic system than they are now. That difficulty, in one form or another, was their constant vexation. The members of Owen's community at Yellow Springs belonged in general to a superior class, but one of them in stating the causes of the failure of that community, says: 'The industrious, the skilful, and the strong saw the products of their labour enjoyed by the indolent and the unskilled and the improvident, and self-love rose against benevolence. A band of musicians insisted that their brassy harmony was as necessary to the common happiness as bread and meat, and declined to enter the harvest field or the workshop. A lecturer upon Natural Science insisted upon talking only while others worked. Mechanics whose day's labour brought two dollars into the common stock insisted that they should in justice work only half as long as the agriculturalist, whose day's work brought only one. The same evil, according to R. D. Owen, contributed to the fall of New Harmony. 'There was not disinterested industry,' he says, 'there was not mutual confidence. A lady who was a member of the Marlborough Association in Ohio, a Socialistic experiment that lasted four years and then failed, attributes the failure to 'The complicated state of the business concerns, the amount of debt contracted, and the feeling that each would work with more energy for a time, at least, if thrown upon his own resources, with plenty of elbow room, and nothing to distract his attention.'

"The magnitude of this difficulty only appears the greater when we turn from the 47 Socialistic experiments which have failed to the 72 which have thriven. The Shakers and Rappists are undoubtedly very industrious people, who, by producing a good article, have won and kept for years a firm hold of the American market, and being, in consequence of their institution of celibacy, a community of adult workers exclusively, every man and

every woman being a productive labourer, the wonder is they are not wealthier and more prosperous even than they are. Their economic prosperity is based, as economic prosperity always is and must be, on their general habits of industry, and the natural tendency of Socialistic arrangements to relax these habits is in their case effectually, though not without difficulty, counteracted by their religious discipline. Idleness is a sin; next to disobedience to the elders, no other sin is more reprobated among them, because no other sin is at once so besetting and so dangerous there, and the conquest and suppression of idleness is a continual object of their vigilance and of their ordinary religious asceticism. Mr. Nordhoff publishes a few of their most popular hymns, and one is struck with the space the cultivation of personal industry seems to occupy in their thoughts. 'Old Slug,' as they delight to nickname the idler, is the 'old Adam' of the Shakers, and a public sentiment of hatred and contempt for the indolent man is sedulously fostered by them. As they not only work, but also live under one another's criticism, they more than replace the eye of the master by the keener and more sleepless eye of moral and social police. And if all this discipline fails, they have the last resource of expulsion. They easily make the idler too uncomfortable to remain. 'They have,' says Mr. Nordhoff, 'no difficulty in sloughing off persons who come with bad or low motives.' They exercise, in short, the power of dismissal, the last sanction in ordinary use in the old state of society. Not that they make any virtue of strenuous labour. They work moderately, and avoid anything like fatigue or exhaustion. They frankly acknowledged to Mr. Nordhoff once and again, that three hired men taken in from the ordinary world would do as much as five or six of their members. Their wants are few and simple, and they are satisfied with the moderate exertion that suffices to supply them; but they will tolerate no shirking of that in any shape or form, and this alone saves them from disaster. The experiences of these suc-

cessful Shaker and Rappist communities serve, therefore, to show even better than the experiences of the unsuccessful Owenite and Fourierist communities, the gravity that the idleness difficulty would assume in a general Socialistic régime, which possessed nothing in the nature of the power of dismissal, and in which we could not calculate either on the formation of an effective public opinion against idleness, or on its effective application if it were formed. The men who founded the unsuccessful communities were far superior to the Shakers in business ability and education, and they had more money to begin their experiments with, but where they failed the Shakers have succeeded through the indirect economic effects of their rigorous religious discipline. But the evidence is as plain in the one case as in the other as to the natural, and even powerful, effect of Socialistic arrangements in relaxing the industry of many sorts and conditions of men.

“ . . . Mr. Nordhoff would probably not use the word squalid of anything he saw in the Shaker and Rappist communities he describes, except perhaps in certain instances of the state of the public streets ; and in some points, such as the scrupulous cleanliness of the interior of the houses, he would set them far above their neighbours—you could eat your dinner, he says, off their floors. Still the people he found everywhere content, if not exactly with squalid, certainly with poor and dull and rough conditions of life, much poorer and duller and rougher than they might easily be. They enjoyed equality, security from harassing anxiety for the morrow, abundance even for their limited wants, independence from subjection to a master, but they were weak in the ordinary springs of progress. The spirit of material improvement was not much abroad among them. Give me the stationary state of society and contentment, you may exclaim ; but then even this stationary state is only maintained in these sequestered communities by the constant play of peculiar religious influences which cannot be counted on everywhere, and it would soon change into a

declining state in the great seething world outside if it were not effectively counter-worked by the most powerful incentives to progress. Now the same equalising social arrangements which destroy one of the most essential of these incentives, by guaranteeing men the results of industry without its exertion, enfeeble a second by predisposing them to rest content with the lower conditions of life to which they are reduced.

“A third cause of decline to which the American experience shows Socialistic institutions to be incident is a certain weakness in the management, produced sometimes by divided counsels, sometimes by the delay involved in getting the sanction of a Board to every little detail of business, and sometimes by a difficulty, which we find also shattering similar experiments in France, that men were raised to the Committee by their gifts of persuasion rather than their gifts of administration. Well-meaning persons, with a great itch for managing things, and a great turn for bungling them, for whom there is, under the present order of society, a considerable safety-valve in philanthropy, contrive in a Socialistic community to get appointed on the Council of Industry and play sad havoc with the common good. While they preached and wasted, the really practical men, who, with better power of talk, might have confounded them, could only sulk and grumble, and eventually lost heart in their work and all interest and confidence in the concern. This had much to do, according to Mr. Meeker, an old Fourierist, with the ruin of the North American Phalanx, one of the most important of the transatlantic experiments, and it was the main cause apparently of the downfall of the community of Hoxsackie—‘They had many persons engaged in talking and law making who did not work at any useful employment; the consequences were that after struggling on for between one or two years the experiment came to an end.’ A Socialistic State would probably have as many difficulties with this bustling but unsatisfactory class of persons as a Socialist Phalanx, nor

would the evils of divided counsels and departmental delays be a whit milder ; and the extension of State management to branches of work for which it had not otherwise some sort of special natural qualification, would have the same kind of ruinous operation."

The inability or the unwillingness of mankind to learn from experience, that is of the many to learn from the experience of the few, is one of the most astounding facts of social philosophy. From his own experience a man may sometimes learn ; from the experience of others he seldom does. If "experience makes fools wise," it is surprising that the amount of experience accumulated upon this subject has not produced more wisdom in the world. For still the work of establishing Utopias goes merrily forward ; still Sisyphus strives to roll his stone up the mountain side.

Only a short time ago a Tolstoi colony failed in Russia ; now an Italian millionaire has founded another. Every member of the community must work, and in return for this he and she have an equal right in all the capital and property of the community. There is no overwork for any one, and their chief practical difficulty is said to be found in the disposal of their leisure. They are all Roman Catholics, and are opposed to taking part in offensive war, but they are quite willing to turn out to defend their native soil. All books, newspapers, and letters from the outside world have been renounced ; beer and spirits are forbidden, though the people are allowed to drink wine made in their own vineyards. Artificial light is to them a thing of the past ; like happy shepherds, they rise at dawn and retire at dusk. They maintain Christian marriage and the institution of the family. There is only one punishment—expulsion from the colony. This, however, to be enforced, has to be agreed to by all the members, so the privilege is not likely to be abused. They have solved the "rational dress" problem for women by making them wear the same costume as men. No doubt this colony will last as long as the millionaire's funds hold out. But then ? We shall see.

A scheme of "co-operative housekeeping," on the lines suggested by Mr. Edward Bellamy in his absurd book, "Looking Backwards," was started at Evanston, a suburb of Chicago, a year or two ago. In a very short time it collapsed, with a balance on the wrong side—as usual. The promoters blamed the *chef* for the failure, "he having become tired of the experiment and deserted." There is Socialistic self-denial for you! Stomach-worship must be more in vogue among Socialists than it is among ordinary people when a *chef* is the corner stone of the community.*

The town of Perpignan, in the South of France, resolved two or three years ago to make an experiment in Socialism, and accordingly a Socialist Town Council were elected, who were pledged to start public workshops, and other schemes, for the amelioration of the condition of the poor. The result was thus stated in the public Press a few months ago: "Unfortunately the council behaved with more zeal than prudence, and they got the finances of the municipality into a very bad state. They have given place to a new council

*The *Spectator* pointed out some time ago the curious fact that ancient history proves that nations invariably deteriorate in proportion to the improvement in their cooking. The Persians under Cyrus were a hardy race, to whom the art of dining was unknown, and they founded one of the most powerful monarchies of the ancient world. But under Xerxes, having begun to delight in the pleasures of the table, they set forth to fight the Greeks with almost as many cooks as soldiers, with the result that 300 ill-fed Spartans kept hundreds of thousands of them at bay at Thermopylæ. The Spartans for centuries lived chiefly on a vile compound of pork broth, vinegar, and salt. When they took to elaborate cooking they soon became extinct. Black bread and onions was the fare of the builders of the pyramids; subsequent luxury ruined Egypt. The fall of the Roman Empire dates from the time that Rome became the world's kitchen, and the cook reigned supreme. It would appear, therefore, that the cook as an artist has exerted a most disastrous influence, and that the best fed nations come to the worst end.

of more moderate views, leaving to their individualistic successors the task of paying the piper for the tunes they had called for. The result is that the new council have had to raise a loan of 550,000 fr. to meet the deficit that had been created."

But the most ambitious Socialist scheme of recent years was "New Australia," the name given to a territory of a quarter of a million of acres in the Paraguayan Chaco, South America. This tract of land was granted by the Paraguayan Government to a man named William Lane, a Socialist Labour agitator of New South Wales, on the sole condition that he would place thereon four hundred families in four years. Taking advantage of the spread of Socialistic doctrines in New South Wales and Queensland, he rapidly launched his scheme. Mr. Lane did not deceive his intending colonists in any way. He boldly told them that everything they possessed—cash, goods, and chattels—must be thrown into the common fund. Everything was to be possessed in common, their earnings were to be common earnings, and their subsistence would be dealt out to them from the common store. The slightest infringement of this condition was punishable by expulsion and forfeiture. With their eyes open they accepted these conditions. The idea of the promoters was to found there a Socialistic-Communitic co-operative colony, which, as regards both its necessities and luxuries, should be absolutely self-contained, and independent of the outer world. It got a fair start by the arrival of 260 pioneer colonists in the month of September, 1893, and it endured exactly three months. Towards the end of December the first group of discontented Socialists broke away from it, although dissensions had broken out much earlier than that. On board the ship that conveyed them there occurred the first rift in the lute, and almost every question after their arrival was a note of discord and dispute. The *personnel* of these colonists was of a character that, if such an experiment is capable of achieving success, success ought to have been assured. They were neither

people from the slums, nor distressed clerks, nor mechanics out of work, but were all sturdy pioneers from our Australian colonies, who in addition to their bush experience and strong arms, put each man of them a *minimum* of £60 cash into the venture.

Before the members started from Australia Lane asked for all their property: "The association will need all that its members can contribute, every pound over the minimum being a pound ahead. So don't buy pianos, rifles, sewing machines, jewellery, or extra clothes, just because you've got a few pounds over. There will be association pianos and co-operative sewing machines available for everybody, and those who have rifles already will lend to those who haven't for a day's sporting. Throw in all you can—that's the way to be mates—and we can soon get all we want once the settlement gets swinging. Those who can get good prices for their tents and saddles should do so, and contribute it to the funds. Those who can't should contribute them (particularly the tents), but no allowance can be made for them in calculating the £60. Tools cannot be taken as part of the minimum payment, but all tools should be donated to the association."

Lane had absolute authority over the whole community, and it was guaranteed in three ways: first, by the rules of the association, to which all the members had agreed; secondly, by the official position with which the Paraguayan Government invested him by making him *Sindico-Comisario* and *Juez de Paz*; and thirdly, by registering the colony as a joint-stock company, of which he held the greater part of the proxies of the members in his own hands. Of course Lane used his power to carry out his own wishes and suppress the demands of his followers. On the voyage from Sydney to the River Plate disputes broke out, and as Lane was hardly then in a position to exert his authority he simply locked himself in his cabin and resigned his position as leader. Under threats and remonstrances from those he had lured from their homes he withdrew his resignation;

but his power was virtually gone from that moment, and when he reached "New Australia" he must have realised that his authority would be very short-lived.

Some of the incidents connected with the break-up of this ambitious scheme, whilst they are amusing as showing how much human nature there is even in Socialists and how the Socialism is shivered by the human nature, are also very instructive as shewing the galling tyranny and the iron mercilessness of the system.

A—— had a sick child, and the common store was sadly deficient in ordinary comforts. A friendly Indian was riding by with a jar of milk, and Mr. A—— negotiated the purchase of it by swopping his razor. A neighbour witnessed the transaction and reported it to Mr. Lane. What remained of the milk was immediately confiscated, because by the rules of the association Mr. A—— had no business to possess a private razor. Mr. A—— protested that the razor was as sacred to his person as his garments, and that because for the sake of his child he had determined to grow his beard he was quite at liberty to dispose of his razor. But this plea was rejected and the milk confiscated.

Mrs. R—— was a delicately nurtured young woman who was made supremely happy one day by her husband coming in from the scene of his labours carrying a pair of fowls. He had obtained them as a thank offering from a grateful Guarani for some slight service rendered. Mrs. R—— knew something about fowls, and she saw with delight in her mind's eye future broods of chickens and fresh eggs for her children. She staked off and fenced in with her own hands a little hen-run outside of the mud ranch, happily resolving that her hens would not lay away, all unconscious that in a few days the inexorable laws of the association would pounce down upon her fowls and declare them common property. They were removed to form the nucleus of a communistic hen-farm. As a nucleus they lived, and as a nucleus a few days afterwards they died. There was no

nucleus afterwards; nobody being sufficiently interested in fowls to provide one.

It is also a significant fact that the occasion (not the cause) of the downfall of "New Australia" was a trumpety dispute about a cask of liquor. By the rules of the colony the use of strong drink was absolutely prohibited. In defiance of this rule two men brought a cask of *caira* into the camp, and this was promptly confiscated and destroyed by the autocratic leader. This the pioneers would not stand, although they had agreed to the rule in question, and they called a general meeting, at which it was proposed to modify the obnoxious rule, but this proposal was defeated by Mr. Lane's proxies. The votes of the members on the spot were neutralised by the votes of those who had not yet arrived. This was another thing which the "New Australians" would not stand, and the original pioneers began to leave the community, some crossing the Paraguayan frontier into Bolivia, others making their way to Buenos Ayres in hopes of getting back to their own country. In the midst of the troubles a second contingent of members arrived from Australia; but they could not save the colony. A goodly proportion of Lane's dupes still remain in "New Australia," simply because they have no choice, as they threw their all into the common fund at the outset. Sir George Dibbs, the Premier of New South Wales, having compassion on these deluded people, instructed Sir Saul Samuel, Agent-General in London, to pay the return passages of any of them who wished to return to Sydney and who were without the necessary means to enable them to do so.

Even since the collapse of "New Australia" there has been an attempt made to establish a new Utopia under the name of "Freeland;" indeed the process of forming this ideal community is now going forward. As it is merely in embryo nothing further can be said of it here; but its character and aims are set forth in the following official statement, which was issued on January 7, 1894, by Herr Theodor Hertzka, the originator and president of the organization,

and Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, scientist and Socialist:—
“It is proposed,” it says, “to establish a community on the basis of perfect economic freedom and justice, a community which shall preserve the independence of its members, and shall secure to every worker the full and undiminished enjoyment of that which he produces. By placing the means of production at the disposal of the workers we shall enable them, without exception, to work in the most advantageous manner. For the site of the new community a suitable area will be selected on the recently-discovered and still unoccupied highlands surrounding Mount Kenia, in the interior of Equatorial Africa. According to the unanimous accounts of trustworthy explorers, these highlands are remarkably well adapted for colonization by Europeans; the climate is excellent, the temperature throughout the year being very much like that of spring-time in Europe, and the land is extraordinarily fertile and rich in mineral products. Great Britain, within whose sphere of influence the district lies, has promised her protection, as well as complete freedom in the matter of internal economic arrangements. The Freelanders are already sufficiently numerous, and command the necessary capital, to commence operations, and their preparations are now complete. Certain members have been actively engaged in our interests for a month past at Zanzibar and Lamu; and a first party of selected pioneers will start at the end of this month, to be followed by the remainder a few weeks later. In a shallow-draught steamer, purchased expressly for the expedition, they will ascend the River Tana as far as the Falls—some 350 miles up stream. Thence, after forming a well-provided camp, some of their number will push on into the Kenia district, and make preparations for the later comers. The pioneers will be equipped with all necessaries both for reporting, from a scientific point of view, upon the districts traversed and for commencing the actual work of cultivation. The larger the means, and the more numerous the *personnel*

with which our enterprise is begun, the more sure and speedy will be its success, and the sooner will it begin to react upon the condition of the whole civilized world, which, step by step, has become untenable. We have therefore good reason for believing that few words are necessary to gain for our undertaking, which speaks aloud for itself, the moral and material support of all friends of humanity, of all who understand their own best interests, and of all who believe in a brighter future and desire to aid in its realization."

We have now passed under review Socialistic schemes of every kind, and in view of the facts no sensible man can do other than admit that they have failed, completely and ignominiously failed, in every respect but one, viz., in illustrating the amazing and the everlasting credulity of the human mind. Large endowments of land and cattle, as in the case of "New Australia"; high personal character, as in the case of Brook farm; exalted and sustained personal enthusiasm, as in the case of the religious communities of the Middle Ages; the immense authority and resources of an entire nation, as in the cases of Sparta and Peru—none of these has sufficed to prevent disaster. And it must be borne in mind that a modern State, England for example, which should decide to embark its fortunes on the sea of Socialism, although it might command enormous material resources, would not be able to rely upon those moral forces, religious zeal, heroic self-surrender, and ardent enthusiasm for humanity, which in these matters count for infinitely more than even material wealth. Socialism adopted under the pressure of the popular vote will be nothing more nor less than a political expedient, and consequently it could rely upon only political forces. And of all forces other than those which are material political forces are the most feeble and inconstant.

Why have these Socialistic experiments failed? Why has their lofty idealism ended in the gutter and the sty? Because they have taken no account of the simplest facts and factors

of human nature ; because they have refused to recognise that prosperity is built upon freedom, and that if that foundation is removed the superstructure must crash down ; because they have set themselves to do battle with the great law that what the individual earns the individual must own and enjoy. In that battle they have been worsted, as they ever will be ; for in all similar conflicts the triumph will remain with individual right and liberty. It cannot be too often repeated that the entire fabric of our civilisation reposes upon the apparently simple, but really profoundly complex, principle that every man shall hold, and be empowered to hold, what he earns, or what is given to him, against the whole world.

It would be easy to show that schemes which have in their nature fallen short of actual Socialism, but which have had a Socialistic trend, have failed from the same great cause, inasmuch as they have not ensured to every workman the product of his own labour and assured him against having to make up for the deficiencies and incompetencies of others. But this phase of the subject is deferred until we come to consider profit-sharing.

Now, what is the lesson to be drawn from this long and unvarying record of Socialistic failure ? Surely this—that the less we have to do with Socialism in any of its forms the better ; that the more loyal we are to the principles of Individualism the more effectually we shall promote both our own personal interests as citizens and the greater interests of the country that we love. Concession to Socialism is both a folly and a crime. Logically there is no end to it until we reach the condition of the Spartans under Lycurgus, or of the Peruvians under the Incas, or of the “ New Australians ” under Dictator Lane. But most of our politicians are all for such concession, and not a few of them are Socialists out and out. If we permit them to work their will upon us England will presently descend to the blessed condition which is said to exist in Samoa, where a man may take anything he wants from his neighbour without paying

for it, and may even quarter himself in his neighbour's house for as long as he likes. These customs, which originated in a benevolent desire to prevent destitution, have ruined Samoa, as they would ruin any country. The most effectual method of spreading destitution and disease, poverty and misery, throughout the land is to abolish, or even to sensibly weaken, the right of the individual to own himself and what he earns by the use of himself.

CHAPTER IV.

ON SOME GRAVE DANGERS AHEAD, ARISING OUT OF CONCESSIONS TO THE SOCIALISTIC SPIRIT.

UNDER free representative institutions the welfare of a country depends largely upon the conduct of the men who are chosen to fill its highest offices. More indeed depends upon men than upon institutions. For institutions are but machinery; they cannot work unless they are actuated by the human spirit. Under all forms of government personality is the great factor that counts. Men, not institutions, govern the world. Nowhere does the power of individualism more strongly assert itself than in the sphere of government; and under a system of Socialism this power would strive to assert itself at least as strongly as it does under any other.

It is strange, when we come to think of it, that so little attention should be paid to the responsibility of rulers and statesmen. The power wielded by these men is enormous; if it be wielded wisely it works for the weal of the nation, if unwisely it works for its woe. To have bad men occupying its highest positions is a nation's curse; to have incompetent or thoughtless men occupying those positions is its misfortune. Happily, it is seldom true of any nation that the majority of its rulers are wicked; but unhappily it is often the case that such a majority are feeble or incapable. And if history teaches one lesson more clearly than another it is that public men who lack soundness of judgment and determination of character may under given circumstances do more harm than other public men who are morally their inferiors but who are sagacious and resolute. Moral qualifications are of course desirable in a statesman, to some

extent they are indeed indispensable, but in themselves they are not sufficient. Mental equipment is at least as essential as moral. Without intellectual penetration and force, great power of insight and intuition, a large spirit of tolerance, extensive knowledge of human nature, promptness in decision, an ardent love of liberty, and warm sympathy with the highest aspirations of mankind, no man can be a true or a successful statesman. If with these qualities are conjoined deep personal religion and high moral excellence he will be so much the wiser and stronger; but without these qualities his morality and religion will never make him other than an infliction upon the nation. In view of certain tendencies now current in society it is necessary to bear these truths in mind.

The hurt which may be done to a community by a wicked or a foolish statesman is absolutely incalculable. The consequences which flow from his actions are so far-reaching and so enduring as to make even the worst errors or faults of other men small by comparison. In all ages and countries the traitor has been marked out as an example of exceptional and abnormal degradation and depravity; but there is no traitor so villainous as the statesman who betrays his country. The liar, the thief, the forger, the drunkard, the adulterer, even the murderer, are all venial sinners as compared with the statesman who defiles the well-springs of a nation's life; for the influence of their misdeeds is usually confined within a narrow circle, whereas the influence of his may corrupt and blight a whole people. Jeroboam's infamous distinction was that "he made Israel to sin;" and this has been the distinction of many a ruler since his time. On the whole there is something to be said for the summary method of those Oriental potentates who cut off a Grand Vizier's head when they find out that he is abusing his position. In civilised and free countries we cannot behead statesmen who by their incapacity, or their flaccidity, or their turpitude involve the nation in misfortune and misery; but we can impeach them before the national

conscience when it becomes clear that their course is evil, and on judgment being delivered against them we can dismiss them from office in ignominy, and place them under ban and penalty. If the national conscience were healthy such impeachment would not be so rare as it is. Among ourselves to-day there are statesmen who, instead of being held in honour, ought, if judged according to their works, to be sunk in the deepest disgrace.

In view of what has been stated as to the nature of Socialism, and as to the consequences which must inevitably flow from it in so far as it may be adopted, what is to be said of those statesmen who, whilst they are fully persuaded of its error and its evil, nevertheless for personal or political ends dilly-dally with it, dandle it, encourage it? It must be said that they are committing one of those blunders which are worse than crimes, and also that they are hatching curses, which, like chickens, will surely come home to roost. Even Bismarck, sensible as he is of the ruinous nature of Socialism now, coquetted with it in former days by holding out the hand of encouragement to Lassalle, and it is a question whether the harm which he did Germany will not outweigh the good which he has incontestably done her by his great actions since. In the course of this work we have shown how our own Government, by their failure to protect liberty and property during the Dock Strike, prepared trouble for themselves in the shape of strikes among their own servants in the army, the police force, and the post-office. We have also pointed out how certain of our statesmen and public bodies have encouraged the growth of Socialism in the most unabashed manner,* and it is one purpose of this chapter to show that this mischief still continues to spread.

A careful study of our recent political history is not calculated to raise very bright hopes as regards the immediate future. In some respects it is no doubt true that the nation

* See vol. 1, chap. 5.

was never so rich and prosperous as it is now, and that all classes of the community, the working classes pre-eminently, are immeasurably better off than they have ever been at any previous period. What is even more important, the nation is advancing in wealth and prosperity, and all classes of the people are sharing in the increase of riches and of comfort which are the general results of commercial progress. Not only are the working classes of the present generation much better paid, fed, clothed, housed, and educated than their fathers were, but the next industrial generation will be even better off in all respects than is the present generation. The condition of the working classes is not stationary but progressive. The standard of comfort is continually rising ; the wants of even the poorest of the people are ever increasing ; and the means of reaching that standard and supplying these wants are in the main secured. The progress which has been made during the present century is perfectly amazing, and it ought to satisfy even the most ardent reformers. It certainly will satisfy reasonable people, who comprehend the difficulty and complexity of industrial and economical questions, and who have learned enough to understand that movement in these matters must necessarily be slow if it is to be permanent, and that the slower it is the more likely it is to keep its footing. This immense and astonishing advance has been achieved in accordance with, and by the help of, those economical laws which are now so much derided by shallow demagogues. The natural and beneficent consequence of progress having been achieved in this way is that it is assured—assured, that is, so long as these laws continue to be observed ; but if these laws are ignored, or wilfully defied, then we shall not only cease to make progress, but we shall start on the backward path. A re-action will set in, and we shall be plunged back again into the miserable conditions out of which we have emerged with so much pain and difficulty. Amid the enthusiasm for “reform,” which characterises the present day, there is grave danger of these two facts being forgotten—first, that

we owe our progress to our obedience of sound economical laws; and, secondly, that we shall inevitably lose the ground we have already gained if we cease to act in harmony with these laws, and permit ourselves to be made the sport of a blind and destructive Socialism. We have only to sanction attacks upon property, none the less vicious because they are veiled, and attacks upon freedom, the more fatal because they masquerade in the cloak of zeal for liberty; we have but to use the political power which has been placed in the hands of the working classes as an engine for oppressing and despoiling the owners of wealth; we have but to make stealthy inroads upon the doctrine and custom of private property, in order to hurl England from her proud position as the wealthiest and mightiest nation in the world and to degrade her to the position of the meanest and the poorest. We have already made a good beginning.

No three men in our generation have done so much to promote Socialistic principles in this country as Michael Davitt, C. S. Parnell, and W. E. Gladstone; yet not one of the three was an avowed Socialist. Probably, indeed, every one of the three would have repudiated with indignation the accusation that he was a Socialist, or that he even favoured the growth of Socialistic principles. Nevertheless the fact remains that these men, whatever their professions may be in theory, have devoted their energies to the carrying of measures which have been Socialistic in their nature and in their effects. Michael Davitt is an avowed adherent and exponent of land nationalisation, and his main purpose in founding the Land League was to inaugurate a movement which would ultimately lead to the nationalising of the land of Ireland. It has already been pointed out that the connection between private property in land and private property in other things is so intimate and vital as to be virtually inseparable, and that taking the land out of the hands of private owners and making it in some way public property is the principal and the fundamental aim of Socialism. Consequently, whatever

affects the sanctity of private property in land is of profound importance to all who are interested in the maintenance of private property in general—and in this every member of the community is in fact concerned.

Parnell, who took the Land League movement out of Davitt's hands, and managed it more in accordance with his own notions, was not a believer in land nationalisation. Neither is Mr. Gladstone, who was made a vassal by Parnell, a believer in that doctrine; indeed he has denounced it as being at its worst criminal and at its best foolish. The fact remains, however, that Parnell inaugurated and conducted a movement in Ireland which was from its centre to its circumference Socialistic. The Socialistic character of the Parnell movement has been largely lost sight of in this country owing to the fact that it was agrarian instead of industrial. But a movement which aims at taking away from one class of people the property which belongs to them, and giving it to another class of people who have no title to it, is essentially Socialistic, whether the property so dealt with is land or property in any other form. Undoubtedly this is what the Parnell movement did aim at in Ireland. What is more its aim was to a great extent accomplished. The land of Ireland, which formerly belonged to a distinct class, the Irish landowners, was, by Gladstonian and Parnellite legislation, made the property of two classes; in other words, the tenants were given proprietary rights in the farms of which they had been formerly purely the hirers. Whilst these tenants were thus endowed with property to which they had no legal or even equitable claim, their rents were at the same time reduced, so that they received a double benefit whilst the landlords suffered a two-fold spoliation. It is true that these Land Acts were confined to a certain class of the Irish people, namely, the tenant farmers, and not distributed among the Irish nation generally. The tenant farmers of Ireland, however, constitute, with their families, the majority of the Irish people. So these Land Acts were Socialistic as far as they went.

Socialists no doubt think that they do not go very far, but they cannot deny that so far as they do go it is in the Socialistic direction. The result of this Socialistic legislation as regards land in Ireland has been to make the landlords poorer without making the tenants any richer. Whilst there has been a general weakening of that respect for private property which lies at the very base of social order, there has at the same time been a distinct loss on the part of those who are supposed to have been benefited through the enfeeblement of those powerful motives which impel men to do the best they can for themselves. No one who is conversant with the conditions which prevail in Ireland will affirm that the Irish tenants are really one whit better off than they were before Land Acts, Arrears Acts, and Purchase Acts were ever heard of. It is as certain as anything can well be in this world that all Mr. Gladstone's legislation as regards Irish land will have to be undone. It will take a century to undo it, and at the end of that time the Irish tenant farmers will be just about in the same position as they were before Mr. Gladstone interfered with them. Yet this legislation has been upheld, and even extended, by a Conservative Government which still further reduced the rents which had been fixed for fifteen years, and also admitted leaseholders to the benefit of the Land Acts, thus placing the largest farmer on a par with the paltriest peasant proprietor.

Of more immediate concern, however, to the people of Great Britain is the question—How is this legislation in Ireland likely to re-act upon the policy of the Government as regards the other part of the United Kingdom? In social matters, as distinct from political, we have already experienced in England some of the results which have flowed from the Parnell movement in Ireland. The new trades unionism, which manufactured the dock strike and scores of other strikes in every department of industry, and which has already inflicted immense injury upon British trade, is the offspring of the Parnell movement in

Ireland.* The writer has long held and preached the doctrine that we shall reap a bitter harvest in England from the seeds which have been sown in Ireland, and that a terrible Nemesis will be inflicted upon us as a punishment for our folly in supporting agrarian Socialism in Ireland. Part of the punishment has come already, but only a small part of it. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech to the agricultural labourers in December, 1891, made this significant admission: "In my view the labour question is of a very long range indeed. That great controversy which has mainly occupied and agitated the public mind for the last six years—the subject of Home Rule for Ireland is *really part of the labour controversy*, because you know very well that the bulk of those on whose behalf you and we have been struggling are either labourers themselves in the strictest sense of the word, or are small farmers in a condition essentially analogous to that of labourers. That is the first, and I will venture to say the foremost, division of the great labour question." Again he said:—"There is one other question on which the common interest reaches to both branches of the labour of the country, *and also concerns the labouring population of Ireland*, and that is the law of conspiracy. . . . We must let every man know what is and what is not an offence by clear enumeration, and we must provide for the rural population of this country, *as well as for the population of Ireland*, that nothing shall be a crime in relation to the prosecution of labour interests because it is done by a combination of men, unless it be in itself an offence against the letter and spirit of the law of the land." These extracts are interesting because they indicate that in Mr. Gladstone's mind there is a most intimate relation between his agrarian and industrial legislation in Ireland and the agrarian and industrial legislation which his party are now advocating in regard to Great Britain. In the new Liberal programme land questions are very prominent.

* This has been fully demonstrated in Vol. I. See Chap. I.

There is much talk of allotments, of restoring the labourer to the land, &c., and parish councils are desired because it is believed that they will in some way be empowered to compel landlords to let or sell their land on terms other than those which prevail in the open market. We are to have the same condition of things created in Great Britain as has been created in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone intimates that landlords are to be compelled to let their land, not only from year to year, but on long leases, to the public authority. Of this public authority he says: "They can regulate the rents, they can make provision, not only against extravagance of rent, but for adequacy in the holding; they can also make provision for a reasonable security in the tenure. The local authority would have its hands free to regulate the concession of land in every way, in every condition that appertains to its security and to its profitableness, and in every way which the best interests of the people might direct." This is just the Land Acts of Ireland over again. We have the three F.'s, fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale, once more; we have Land Courts, or something analogous to them, fixing rents and intermeddling with every little detail as regards the occupancy and cultivation of land. Of course this is to be done at somebody's expense, partly at the landlord's expense, because he will get reduced rents, and partly also at the expense of the community in general; for it is quite clear that numbers of these amateur farmers will bungle the business and get into difficulties, the loss being thrown upon the rates. The State is to set a number of people up in business; if they succeed they will take all the benefit; if they fail the State will bear all the loss. In other words we shall have the old trick over again, and the industrious part of the community will be compelled to pay for the errors and follies of those who are either not industrious or are incompetent. Clearly the Radicals are aiming to produce the same state of things in Great Britain as they have produced in Ireland, although they think it expedient

to use somewhat different means. There is some danger also that even the Conservatives will be lured into this dangerous path. There is ominous talk of millions of money being appropriated to the experiment of creating a class of small farmers. That such a class is very desirable in the country it would be folly to deny; but if it is to be established on a sound and lasting foundation, so as to be a benefit both to the nation and to small farmers themselves, it must be established on a sound economical basis. In other words, it must grow; it cannot be manufactured to order.

Some idea of the extent to which the vicious doctrines of Parnellism-cum-Socialism have permeated the minds of people in this country may be gained from the utterances of Mr. G. P. Fuller, M.P., and others.*

If any English Parnell could count upon eighty-five such followers as Mr. Fuller we should soon see terrible havoc made with the great principles upon which civilised society is founded. This is only one proof out of many of the utter demoralization which many Liberals have undergone as a consequence of their swallowing the doctrines of Parnellism.†

An instructive correspondence appeared in *The Times* early in September, 1894, under the heading "Rent Robbers," and one correspondent after another stated that the difficulty of collecting rents has greatly increased during the last few years. It was also pointed out that there are clever thieves in London, who manage to get possession of

* See Vol. I of this work, Library Edition, page 168.

† On August 29th Mr. Biron, Q.C., stated at the Lambeth Police Court that he now had more ejectments before him in one day than he formerly had in a year, and added that "the modern system seemed to be to take a house or apartments, to pay no rent, and to remain in possession until ejected by the process of the law." Sergeant Moore, warrant officer of the Court, stated there was a case on the previous Monday, in which the tenant had paid no rent for seven months.

houses by false testimonials, and then refuse either to pay rent or to give up possession, and can only be ejected by the landlord at great cost, delay, and risk. Many of those who are suffering in this way have no doubt helped by their political action to spread the pernicious doctrines of Parnellism, so that they are simply reaping as they have sown.

Among the more significant and ominous facts which indicate that a tremendous struggle is impending in this country between the forces of rapine on the one hand, and the forces of morality on the other, are the proceedings of the London County Council* and the programme which was issued by the London Liberal and Radical Union in view of the County Council elections. From beginning to end this programme is an appeal to the cupidity of the more ignorant classes of the community, just as the Parnell movement was in Ireland, and its Radicalism, also like Parnellism, tramples underfoot the security of property as a thing of nought, although the welfare and even the existence of a civilised community absolutely depend upon the sanctity of private property being preserved. The programme of the London Liberal and Radical Union is but a reproduction, with slight alterations and additions, of the Newcastle Programme, and what the *Times* aptly said of the latter will apply equally well to the former: "Industrial freedom, individual effort, the abolition of restrictions and obstacles, are no longer the objects for which Radicalism is striving. The Newcastle Programme is saturated with ideas on limitation and compulsion, of the despotism of the majority and the meddlesome action of the State."

We now turn to notice more particularly a series of incidents and events which have occurred since the former volume of this work was issued, and which, taken together,

* In Vol. I of this work, Chap. 5, the action of the London County Council down to the end of 1892 is carefully reviewed.

indicate a strong tendency towards the embodiment of Socialistic ideas in our legislation, or in other words towards the gradual establishment of Socialism.

As regards the policy of the present Government, we may gather a clear idea of its purpose and drift by examining it in relation to these four matters: (1) Employers' Liability; (2) Parish Councils; (3) The Finance Bill; (4) Labour Questions in general.

Before proceeding to deal with these matters, however, it is necessary to notice the change which has occurred in the constitution of the Government itself by the substitution of Lord Rosebery for Mr. Gladstone as its head; for the bearing of this fact upon the subject in hand is most important. Mr. Gladstone, in spite of his erratic, unaccountable, infatuated course in regard to Ireland, has never had much sympathy with Socialism, nor even with that extreme Radicalism which approximates towards it. In 1874 the miners employed by Lord Fitzwilliam in the Aston Hall Colliery refused to work with a non-unionist, and struck work in order to compel the proprietor to discharge the free workman. Lord Fitzwilliam answered this impudent trade-union tyranny by closing the mine, for which he was censured and charged with exercising the rights of property in an arbitrary manner. But Mr. Gladstone defended Lord Fitzwilliam in these terms: "Lord Fitzwilliam would have committed a mean and dishonourable act if he had turned out that one man. Instead of doing that he performed a noble deed on behalf of the whole nation, and most of all on behalf of the working-classes themselves. He repelled a tyranny as cruel as it was irresponsible—a tyranny which, if successful, would have converted the workmen of England into slaves. To subject the labourers of the nation to the absolute and irresponsible rule of leaders of unions would be the worst and most disastrous form which despotism could assume." "The non-unionists," he went on to say, "had as good a right to form an opinion as to the value of their labour as the majority had; and if we have come in this

country to the day when the majority shall endeavour to put down the minority and refuse freedom of opinion to those who are fewer in numbers, in my opinion the country will be one of which I should say that the sooner we get out of it the better." Now, it is obvious that a man who held such old-fashioned opinions as these could have no sympathy with the "New Unionism." Mr. Gladstone never had any affection for the "Newcastle Programme," the offspring of the Radical-Socialists; it is doubtful whether he ever believed in it; he certainly made no effort to pass it, his attitude towards it being one of lukewarmness. His mind was entirely set upon giving Home Rule to Ireland, to which he would have sacrificed everything; but some of his colleagues were equally set upon satisfying the Radical demands, to which they would have sacrificed Ireland. So there was a conflict, in which Mr. Gladstone was defeated, and he retired. He foresaw serious trouble ahead, owing to the irreconcilability of the most reputable and stable elements of the Liberal party with the Radical Socialists, and therefore he deemed it prudent to resign. This was the cause, though the disease in his eyes may have been the occasion, of his retirement.

This view is confirmed by the selection of Lord Rosebery as his successor. How Lord Rosebery came to be leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister of England nobody knows. The Liberal party had nothing to do with it; it was done for them. But why Lord Rosebery was elevated to the position is pretty clear; it is because he has more sympathy with the Socialistic elements of Liberalism than any other of Mr. Gladstone's principal colleagues. This is proved, not only by the ostentatious manner in which he supported strikes by large donations, but also by his co-operation with the "Progressive" section of the London County Council. Moreover, it is a significant fact that his accession to the Premiership was not only accepted heartily by the Socialistic Radicals, but was hailed by them as a good omen for the success of their cause; whilst the Indi-

vidualistic Liberals, if they can be said to have accepted him at all, have done it in a very sullen spirit. What his policy will be nobody knows, but there is every reason to believe that he has thrown in his lot with the Collectivists, and that he will endeavour to carry the Newcastle Programme and a good deal more. If he takes this line there will be another secession from the Liberal party, which, as in 1886, will again lose a considerable portion of its wealthy and superior members. A split was with difficulty avoided when the Eight Hours' Bill was under discussion, and it will be impossible to prevent the threatened rupture when the Collectivist policy of the Government reaches a certain stage of development. After this disruption what is known as the Liberal party will cease to exist; in its place we shall have a horde of Radical-Socialists, bent upon carrying out the programme of the Labour Party and of the Fabian Society. To confront them we shall have a party Conservative in name, but almost as deeply tainted with the Socialistic spirit as its rival. It is a gloomy outlook.

We now proceed to notice the four points mentioned above.

1. *Employers' Liability.* In its general aspects this subject was fully discussed in the former volume of this work,* where it was shewn that any interference with the law as it stands would be wholly gratuitous and unnecessary, and therefore injurious, as it could be prompted only by motives of political expediency and not of justice. The law as it now stands makes an employer liable to pay compensation to workmen who have been maimed or killed *through his fault*. No just law can do more than this. Just men would not desire a law to do more. But Trade Unions, Socialistic Labour-mongers, and the politicians who seek their favour, do desire more: they demand the abolition of the doctrine of common employment, which limits the liability of employers to those accidents which are due to their own fault, in order that

* See Vol. I, pp. 254-58, Library Edition.

those accidents which are due to the *workman's own fault* may also carry with them a claim for compensation *against the employer*.

The Employers' Liability Bill of the present Government, which was introduced by Mr. Asquith, the Home Secretary, just as the first volume of this work was passing through the Press, possessed two principal features—the abolition of the doctrine of common employment, and the prohibition of liberty to contract out of the Act on the part of workmen or their associations. What the abolition of the doctrine of common employment involves has already been pointed out; it would work injustice to the employer. In like manner the prohibition of contracting out would inflict injustice upon the employed, inasmuch as it is totally destructive of the liberty of the workman. This provision was aimed at certain provident and insurance funds which have been established by the voluntary and conjoint efforts of employers and their workmen, and which have proved an immense boon to workmen and their families in cases where the breadwinner has been incapacitated or killed by accident. The principal organisations of this nature are those of the London and North Western Railway, embracing 61,337 workmen; the London and Brighton Railway, 11,000; the Monmouth and South Wales Miners' Permanent Provident Society, 60,000; the Elswick Works, 7,500; South Metropolitan Gas Works, 3,500; and the Oldbury Alkali Works, 820. Some idea of the magnitude of the operations of these Funds, and of their beneficent results, may be gathered from the following figures. The London and North Western Railway Company have contributed £204,800 to their workmen's society, and the benefits conferred upon the members have reached the large total of £408,828. The London and Brighton Company have contributed £43,000 in twelve years, and their men £26,080. The Monmouthshire and South Wales Society, though it was established only in 1881, has expended £256,000 in relieving disabled members, widows, and

children; the workmen annually contribute £40,000, and the employers £10,000; and the accumulated funds amount to £140,000. All these associations are voluntary; they are governed chiefly by the workmen themselves; and they are administered rather in a spirit of generosity than of justice, so that large benefits are often conferred even in cases where no legal claim to them exists. Their most marked effect is to make the workman happy in the assurance that provision will be made for him and his family in case of any untoward eventuality, and to promote goodwill between employers and employed.

Mr. Asquith's Bill would have destroyed all these societies at one blow, inasmuch as it would have increased the liability of the employer indefinitely, and at the same time would have prevented employers and employed from coming to an agreement outside the Act. The result would have been the withdrawal of the employers' subscriptions, and the consequent collapse of the societies, nothing being left to the workman but a chance to recover damages for injury by accident in a Court of Law. When this was realised by the members of the threatened organisations they at once began to agitate in favour of being let alone; that is, they asked to be allowed to retain their liberty to agree with their employers as they liked. After discussion among themselves they voted on the matter by ballot, and in the case of the North Western Railway men 95 per cent. of them were in favour of the existing system, the figures being 5,349 for the Bill and 47,229 against it. They then sent deputations upon the subject to the Marquis of Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Argyll, and other leading politicians, praying them to use their efforts, if not against the Bill, at all events against that portion of it which threatened their liberty and their interests; but it is significant that the Earl of Kimberley, leader of the Government in the Upper House, refused to receive such a deputation, though it represented over a hundred thousand skilled artisans. The cause of these

men was championed in the House of Commons by Mr. Walter M'Laren, and by the Earl of Dudley, more thoroughly, in the House of Lords, the result of their efforts being that the Bill in its final shape allowed full liberty of contracting out to the members of these existing societies, and of course preserved the societies and their funds. The Government, being unable to get their way on the question of contracting out, dropped the Bill altogether; which was a very good ending of the matter, as the measure was in no sense required.

Now, this history is very instructive. Three facts stand out clearly; first, that the (Liberal) Government would have destroyed the liberty of the workman if they could; secondly, that they were goaded into this course by the Trade Unions; and thirdly, that the House of Lords preserved the workman's freedom. All this is so strange an inversion of the former order of things that we may well rub our eyes and ask where we are. Who would have predicted a few years ago that the Liberal party would come out in the character of an enemy of Freedom of Contract; and who could have foretold that the House of Lords would prove to be a bulwark of the liberties of the British working man? Yet both these things have come to pass. Lord Salisbury, a Conservative, exclaimed of the Peers: "We are the advocates of the freedom of the individual and of the freedom of contract. We are the advocates of societies which have been in operation for years, and which have given full satisfaction to those who form part of them, and who now repeatedly and with loud voices exclaim against the proposals to deprive them of exercising those benefits which they have hitherto, in their freedom as Englishmen, enjoyed." And no man could gainsay his statement. On the contrary it was confirmed by Lord Stanmore, a Liberal, who said: "If the Government desired to obtain the support of those who were not disinclined to support them, who would be glad and wished to do so, and who were still guided and governed by

principles long held and acted on, they must explain far more fully and plainly than they had yet attempted to do the necessity for provisions which admittedly interfered with the unrestricted rights of action and contract. In the days, now unfortunately remote, when he and his noble friend in charge of the Bill sat on the Liberal benches of the House of Commons, it was an all but universally admitted article of the Liberal creed that any such interference with the freedom of contract and action was in itself an evil ; an evil which, no doubt, often had to be endured in order to avoid greater evils, or in order to effect some manifest public good, but which was never held to be justified except for grave cause. The burden of proving the cause lay upon those who desired to impose the restriction. That doctrine might not now be so fashionable, but it was not one whit less true." It is singular indeed to find Liberals, who profess to regard the working classes as the depositaries of all political wisdom, refusing to entrust the working man with such a modicum of liberty as would be involved in his deciding for himself in regard to such matters as those dealt with under the Employers' Liability Bill. But of course it goes to show that Liberalism has been so permeated and transformed as to be unrecognisable.*

* The same is true also of Trade Unionism. Judge Hughes, speaking of the speeches and the action of the Trade Union leaders on the Employers' Liability Bill, says : " I can hardly believe my eyes when I read their speeches. I was a member of both the Royal Commissions on whose reports the Unions were given a legal *status* and protection for their funds, and had been connected with them for twenty years previously, since the great strike of the Amalgamated Engineers in 1851. I was, therefore well acquainted with their leaders in those days, with Newton and Allan of the Engineers, Guile of the Boilermakers, and Odger of the Shoemakers, one and all of whom I used to admire for their sturdy independence. ' Give us protection for our funds and the recognition before the law to which we have a right as English citizens, and then just

The question remains : What is the secret of the hostility manifested by Trade Unions towards contracting out ? One reason of their action is obvious. Provident and insurance funds, established and supported by the mutual efforts of employers and employed, engender a kindly and sympathetic spirit between the two classes, and therefore render disputes and strikes difficult ; and whatever does this necessarily tends to lessen the necessity for a Trade Union, and to diminish the power and *prestige* of the Trade Union agitator. The Trade Union leaders were fighting for personal ends, and the Government were driven to fight for them and with them because they carry a lash in the shape of "the Trade Union vote," which is ever and anon cracked over the heads of time-serving politicians. What a pity it is that the politicians do not reflect a little upon the fact that there are seven or eight free labourers to one trade unionist, and that the vote of one counts for as much as the vote of the other.

All this, however, is on the surface ; there is something beneath. The hostility of the Trade Unions was so bitter, so pronounced, so inveterate, as to suggest some ulterior object. There is reason to believe that they had such an object, and that it was to obtain power to paralyse the railways at their will. How ? Thus : whilst insurance funds exist on the North-Western and Brighton railways their men will remain loyal to them ; in case of strikes on other railways these two companies can lend trained guards, drivers, firemen, etc. ; and whilst they have power to do this there can be no general railway strike. But destroy

stand aside and we will do everything else for ourselves.' That was their speech, and I can scarcely believe that the skilled English workman of this generation is so changed as to approve of this effort to reduce all men to one level by Act of Parliament. Strange changes occur in these latter days, but none so strange, or, in my judgment, more lamentable than this, if it prove to be really as we are assured by the working-class M.P.'s."—Letter to *The Times*, February 16, 1894.

the insurance funds, create antagonism between these railway companies and their men, then these men will fall into line with general railway workers, and be ready for any reckless action. This was the cool and desperate calculation of the Socialistic Trade Union leaders; in this plan they made the Government their allies (though the latter, poor fellows, not being able to see any further than their noses, could not perceive what they were being used for); and if the combined efforts of the two had succeeded, the entire railway system of the country would have been at the mercy of half-a-dozen men. How serious a peril this might become need not be here pointed out. The object of modern Trade Unionism is to "organise" all industries so that they can act simultaneously and concentrate all their strength upon any given point. If they could carry out their ideal a general strike would be a simple matter; for one secretary would hold up his finger, and the coal miners would cease working; another would do likewise, and all railway men would strike; a third autocrat would give the sign, and cotton mills would stop; and so on through the whole of our industries. Thus the entire community would be at the mercy of a few Socialistic demagogues.

2. *The Parish Councils Bill.* A few words with regard to the *principle* of this measure will suffice. That principle is that the ratepayers of any parish are empowered to elect a council, which will exercise powers over property more extensive than have ever before been committed to a public authority in this country. Among other things, they will be able to take any piece of land, any part of an estate, without the owner's consent and against his will, and to pay him for it any price that an officer of the Local Government may fix, provided that a majority of the villagers vote for it. They will also have large powers over the church, charities, etc. Consequently they will form splendid avenues for the discharge of that spite and venom against the squire and the parson which is a natural secretion of the Radical-Socialistic organism. Notwithstanding the enormous powers

which are given to these Councils they are to be elected upon the principle of "one man, one vote," so that the squire who pays half the rates of the village, and who can be bled by increased taxation, will have no more power in creating them than the idle good-for-nothing who pays no rates at all, who lives upon others, and who has not a penny to lose. This Act is undoubtedly Socialistic in its spirit and in some of its provisions, and if it cannot be characterised as directly spoliatory, it certainly confers powers upon the unpropertied classes which are capable of being used, and which undoubtedly will be used, for confiscatory purposes; while it will just as certainly introduce discord and enmity into every community.

Why was this measure brought forward? Nobody asked for it; nobody wanted it. But there was something else that somebody wanted, viz., the votes of the rural labourers, and to gain these the Radical Government proposed to enable the said labourers to disendow the squire. In like manner, a few years ago, a Conservative Government set up County Councils, which nobody wanted (except a few fussy busybodies), and under which the squire has been disestablished. And why did they do it? To gain votes. But it is now admitted that the Unionists did not gain a single vote by their action. And serve them right. Not only did they not gain votes, but they gave prominence in every district to a number of active enemies of their own cause. It must never be forgotten that we owe the London County Council, with its fads and its follies, to a Conservative Government. A great deal of political virtue will be required to compensate for such a huge and disastrous blunder as that.

The Parish Councils Bill was opposed in a very half-hearted manner by some of the Conservative members of the House of Commons, and by others of them not at all, whilst a few actually supported it. The alliance of the Conservatives with the Liberal Unionists enfeebled their action in regard to this measure, though it is hard to see why, for

no party ought to more strenuously oppose Socialistic legislation than that which professes to inherit and to act upon true Liberal traditions. But it must be confessed that the Liberal Unionists have proved a broken reed as regards those social questions which involve the protection of property and of freedom. The Parish Councils Bill finally got through Parliament as the result of a compromise, which means that even the Conservatives were in some sense consenting parties to it, and are therefore to some extent responsible for it. Such a measure should never have been accepted in any sense. Lord Salisbury stoutly opposed it in the House of Lords, and by judicious amendments many of its most objectionable features were either eliminated or modified; but his position was greatly weakened by the foolish conduct of some of his followers in the House of Commons, so that when the Commons disagreed with the Lords' amendments he had little choice but to recede from his original position. Here we have another significant illustration of the fact that by both parties nowadays Bills are dealt with, not on their merits, or with a view to the true interests of the nation, but with the object of securing political support.

The Parish Councils Bill was assuredly a measure of such vital importance, and was certain to be so far-reaching in its consequences, that no party ought to have consented even to its being read a second time until a most searching examination had been made into its provisions; whilst a party in any way worthy of the name of Conservative would have fought to the last ditch rather than see it placed upon the statute book. Some idea of the nature and effects of this ill-advised piece of legislation may be formed from one of its features only, namely, its tampering with the Poor Law. It virtually places the country under a new Poor Law; for although it makes little actual change in the law itself it makes a revolution in the mode of administering it; and, as we have insisted all the way through this work, the welfare of the country depends far more upon adminis-

tration than upon legislation. Certain clauses of the Bill place the election of Poor Law Guardians and the administration of funds under the Poor Law absolutely at the mercy of popular election; that is to say, the people who contribute hardly any of these funds are to have supreme control in spending them. The *Daily Chronicle* called the 29th clause of the Bill, which extends these arrangements to the County of London and to every other urban county, “a revolution in a clause”; and the *Pall Mall Gazette* pronounced the adoption of this clause to be simply the most important political change to the five millions of Londoners that has occurred in this generation, with the single exception of the formation of the County Council: the same journal added that “the vast sums employed in poor relief in the metropolis are now to be absolutely under the control of a body chosen by popular election. The principle of taxation without representation has never been carried so far. The contributions of the wealthiest community in the world are left at the unfettered disposition of the multitude who contribute little or nothing. The classes of London will pay the rates: the masses can spend them on poor relief as they please.” Nevertheless, although this matter was of so vital a character, this clause was carried in an almost empty House of Commons, after a few minutes’ conversation, and with scarcely a word of protest from the Conservative benches. It is not surprising that many Conservatives throughout the country regard this “compromise” as a proceeding which very closely resembled a betrayal of the interests of the Conservative party.

One of the most notable contributions to the controversy which took place with regard to this compromise was made by the venerable Earl Grey, who pointed out “the enormous injury that must result to the nation from the encouragement that has been given to the project of tampering with the Poor Law, by the action of the Conservative party.” His Lordship then proceeded to set forth his experience

upon the general question of Poor Law administration in the following impressive terms :*

“ There are now few who can recollect, as I do, the frightful evils brought upon the agricultural labourer in the southern counties by the law relating to the relief of the poor and by the manner in which that law was administered before the Poor Law Reform Act of 1834. In the preceding years I had, in visits to Lord Dacre at the Hoo, opportunities of hearing much from him of the miserable state of things at that time in Hertfordshire and also of seeing strong proofs of it myself.

“ The wretchedness brought upon the peasantry, and their utter demoralization by a system honestly meant for their benefit can hardly be adequately felt except by those who witnessed it, though it has been well described in the volume of extracts from the reports to the Assistant Commissioners who were employed to collect information for the Bishop of London's Commission on the Poor Law, which was published under the direction of Sir E. Chadwick before the Bill was brought into the House of Commons. In speaking of these reports I cannot forbear mentioning that the author of one of the best of them still survives in Mr. C. Villiers. Of the admirable report of the Commission it is only necessary to say that it led to the passing, with little difficulty, of the Poor Law Act of 1834, which I regard as the most important and most successful measure of legislature passed by Parliament in the last two centuries.

“ Before it was passed, the country, in the opinion of the best informed men of the day, was on the very brink of a great social convulsion. This calamity was averted by the measure I am speaking of, and the wisdom with which it was framed is proved by its success. In spite of some mistakes in the exercise of the powers it conferred upon the Ministers of the Crown, it has been so administered, during more than half a century that it has been in operation, as

* Letter to the *Times*, January 8th, 1894.

to produce a change for the better in the social condition of the south of England which is almost marvellous.

“We are now asked to make a complete alteration in the law which has worked so well, though I am not aware that any faults have been pointed out, either in the law itself or in the manner in which it has been administered, to call for a measure amounting to nothing less than a revolution in the present system. It is true that Mr. Fowler has said, in defence of his measure, that it is not one of great importance, since it would make little alteration in the law as to the mode of granting relief to the poor, and the change it would introduce would be chiefly in the constitution of the authority by which the law is to be administered. This remark implies that Mr. Fowler does not know that one of the main objects of the Act of 1834 was to secure a better administration of the law than formerly.

“The great evils which existed in the southern counties arose more from the want of judgment in the manner in which the law, as it existed, had been acted upon than from faults in the law itself. In that part of England, from a sincere but unwise desire to improve the condition of the poor, a mode of granting relief had been generally introduced of the same character as the regulations which Burke said that the Norfolk squires had adopted when they had dined. In the north a similar mistake had rarely been committed, and in consequence there was little ground for complaint. Mr. Fowler could not have remained ignorant of this fact if he had given to the subject the attention its importance demanded.

“A comparison of the information collected before the passing of the Act of 1834 with the alterations now proposed in it would afford ample proof of how little careful attention can have been given to the latter, and how surely their adoption would tend to revive the evils happily got rid of by the law they would spoil instead of amending. Notwithstanding the unfortunate assent of the Conservative leaders in the House of Commons to the compromise, I

trust, therefore, that the House of Lords will reject altogether the Clauses dealing with the Poor Law. Even if it could be shown that there are faults in that law which require correction, no attempts should be made to correct them without an enquiry conducted with a care approaching, at least, to that bestowed on the original law. To meddle rashly with a measure which has been so beneficial to the country would be most unwise."

The appeal of Earl Grey was, however, as we have seen, in vain, as the House of Lords most unwisely consented to accept and to pass this vicious measure.

Earl Grey criticized in somewhat severe terms the action of the Conservative party in the House of Commons with regard to this compromise, expressing his opinion that "the course taken by the Conservatives was injudicious," and that "it would have been better if they had abstained from proposing any amendments in the Clauses of the Government Bill, but had contented themselves with shortly stating the strong objections to which many of these clauses were obviously open, and then voted against them, without proposing amendments which were sure to be rejected by the obdurate majority of the Minister, and which even if they had been accepted would have done little to correct the evil tendency of the measure. By taking this course they would have saved a great deal of useless labour both to their own followers and to those of the Government, and would also have obtained the still greater advantage of insuring either the ultimate rejection of the Bill, or a far more effectual correction of its worst features than is now likely to be accomplished.

"I have been confirmed in this opinion by the following passage in an article of *The Times* of Wednesday last :—
'The House of Lords will be perfectly free to deal with every part of the Bill, though the acquiescence of the leaders of the Opposition in the Lower House in the proposal to deal with the Poor Law and in the principle of hiring as well as purchasing land for allotments is a material fact that

has to be considered.' This remark, it will be observed, really applies to the whole course of the Opposition in proposing amendments to various objectionable provisions of the Bill and thus implying a willingness to assent to them on certain conditions, thereby necessarily diminishing the authority of the House of Lords in resisting them."

The strictures of Lord Grey were replied to by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the leader of the Conservatives in the House of Commons, who denied that the Conservatives had in any way assented to, or even acquiesced in, the proposals of the Government, and contended that the compromise left the action of the Unionist party, both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, absolutely unfettered. He further pointed out that the Poor Law Clause of the Bill had been discussed for several days, and that the discussion had closed before the compromise was come to, and also that the Conservatives had used precisely the same arguments as Lord Grey himself against the measure. Finally, Mr. Balfour demurred to the principle laid down by Earl Grey, which assumed that the action of the Conservative party, in discussing and striving to amend the provisions of the Bill, indicated a "willingness to consent to them on certain conditions," and stated that this would be an absolute innovation in Parliamentary practice, which, if consistently acted upon would put an end to any detailed criticism even of such measures as the Home Rule Bill. There can be no doubt, however, that a feeling of great disquietude was caused throughout the Conservative ranks by the apparent ease with which a Government of Socialistic proclivities was able to pass through Parliament a measure of this dangerous and sweeping character, in the face of an unusually strong Opposition in the House of Commons, and of an Opposition three times stronger still in the House of Lords. It was felt that if such a measure as this could be so readily proposed by one party, and so faintly opposed by the other party, the country was absolutely at the mercy of the Radical-Socialists.

In this case, as in several others which we have had to notice, there is good reason to believe that underground forces were at work and that ulterior objects were aimed at. The Trade Unionists, as we have seen, virtually compelled the Government to strike what was intended to be a fatal blow at voluntary combination between employers and employed for the purpose of insuring against accidents, and deaths from accidents, and the Trade Unionists did this, not to promote the interests of the working classes, but to further their own peculiar objects. There is reason to believe that it was owing to the same pressure that the Government included the administration of the Poor Law in the Parish Councils Bill. This was a part of the compact with the Trade Union officials. Under the new law, which comes into force next year (1895), a majority of persons who do not pay rates will have the power of electing the Poor Law Guardians and to control the entire Poor Law administration, and these persons will have it in their power, if they are so minded, to carry on a strike in any particular district by the help of Poor Law funds, just as Boards of Guardians in Ireland have used Poor Law funds to support the tenants in fighting against their landlords. There have been cases in Ireland where men of the most worthless character have received as much as a pound a week in out-door relief, although they were in no need of it. The money was simply given to them out of spite against the landlords. These same landlords had to contribute this very money in the shape of poor rates, and it was then voted away by their enemies to their tenants who refused to pay rent. It will now be in the power of the Trade Union officials to produce a similar state of things in this country, and to carry out one of their favourite principles, viz., that of "fighting the masters with the masters' own money." It is well-known that even under the present administration of the Poor Law the poor rate has in some cases been used to supplement the resources of persons who were on strike. Under the new order of things it will be quite easy for the

Trade Union managers to make use of the poor rate in order to subsidise the strike funds of their Unions. Of course there will be a pretence of applying the labour test to those who seek out-door relief, and at present voters who receive relief from Poor Law funds are disfranchised. But little weight can be attached to these conditions, for the present Government has in reserve a Registration Bill, and it would be a very simple matter to do away entirely with both these disabilities by a simple clause in that Bill. There can be no doubt that the Government would be willing enough to insert such a clause, and after the experience we have recently had it would be rash to suppose that even the Conservatives would stoutly oppose it.

The House of Lords had a grand opportunity of knocking on the head this nice little conspiracy between the Trade Unionists and the Government, but it allowed it to slip, and in a moment of weakness accepted this Bill, which is really ten times more dangerous to the true interests of the nation than the Home Rule Bill itself.

The Peers might have accepted the democratic principles of the Bill if they had been so minded; they might have allowed the *ex officio* guardians and the plural vote to be abolished; but they ought to have insisted firmly on the sound and old-fashioned principle of representation and taxation going together; that is to say, they ought to have refused to permit people who pay no rates to have the power to elect the authorities who spend the rates. If they had insisted upon this condition they would have earned the gratitude of the best elements in the nation, and they would have prevented Local Government from being turned into a farce on the one side, though it is likely enough to prove a tragedy on the other. The Lords would have done better still if they had struck out entirely that portion of the Bill relating to the Poor Law, and had thus compelled the Government to deal with that subject by a special measure after proper consideration, if they wished to deal with it at all.

It is an error to suppose, as many persons do suppose, that the occupiers of cottages, as a class, although they do not pay rates directly, do pay rates in the shape of an addition to the rent, and that therefore they are as much entitled to exercise the franchise as though they paid the rates directly. Mr. W. H. Hall, of Six Mile Bottom, Cambridgeshire, states that he is the owner of 170 cottages in ten parishes and three counties, and that he pays the rates on them all except a few which are let with the farms, and even in these cases the labourer does not pay. He states that the average cost of eighty of the cottages, which are new, was £210 apiece, and that the rent is £4 a year. This is less than 2 per cent. on the outlay, when the expenses of repairs, rates, collection, &c., are deducted. For the other 90 a rent of £2 12s. od. a year is charged. Mr. Hall asks: "How is it possible, with any fairness, to contend that my cottagers at these unremunerative rates are indirect payers of rates, or that the question of rates is in any way brought home to them? And my cottagers are only fair samples of the prevailing rule. Is it just that non-ratepaying cottagers should entirely swamp the ratepaying minority in electing bodies whose main function will be rate-spending? In administering funds contributed by themselves the labouring classes are commendably thrifty. But their representatives on Parish and District Councils would be more than human if they were equally careful in spending other people's money." Here we have a case in which one man pays the rates on one hundred and seventy houses and yet has only one vote, and where one hundred and seventy occupiers, who pay no rates at all, have each got a vote in regard to the spending of those rates. That is to say, Mr. Hall, who pays the money, when it comes to the spending of it has got only one vote against one hundred and seventy votes. It is conceivable that Mr. Hall's tenants might join in a combination against him and refuse to pay him any rent, in which case they could throw themselves on the parish, and vote themselves a weekly allowance out of the Poor Law funds at

Mr. Hall's expense. This is precisely what has been done over and over again in Ireland. Mr. Hall's case is a typical example; there are hundreds of landlords throughout the country who are in precisely the same position.*

Mr. W. J. Evelyn, who happily described the Parish Council as "a brand-new talking and taxing machine," and who expressed the opinion that the Parish Council meetings will not be attended by agricultural labourers, but by speculative builders, small tradesmen, money-lenders, and adventurers, thus speaks of the measure:—"Some of the provisions tend to encourage corruption and the exercise of vindictive spite; Parish Councils being empowered not only to borrow money on the security of the rates, but also, with the consent of the District Council, to buy land compulsorily, to sell or exchange land so bought, to enclose parts of commons, to seize supplies of water, and by a provision in Clause 7 (if I understand it right) to tax a part of a parish, exempting

* "There is no greater crisis in the history of a nation than that which a democracy passes through when it first grasps the power to play with the savings and property of the citizens at large, without the training and discipline by which it would be saved from great acts of injustice or ruinous mistakes. We should have thought that Mr. Gladstone would have been just the man to appreciate the character of this danger, and the moral cruelty of not doing all in our power to guard the democracy against any sudden and unpremeditated abuse of the political power which is now falling into its hands. It is nearly fourteen years since Mr. Goschen declined taking office under Mr. Gladstone, because he greatly feared the consequences of extending the suffrage to the agricultural labourers, especially on the ground that, when they had gained it, they might trifle with the poor-law, without even recognizing the great danger to their own class into which they were running. That danger is now at the very doors; and we must say we feel the greatest surprise that Mr. Gladstone does not recognise it, and put his whole strength into the effort to render the great change which is before us gradual and safe."—*The Spectator*, Dec. 29, 1893.

the rest. Among the objects for which rural parishes will be taxed and plunged into debt are recreation grounds, baths and wash-houses, public libraries and sewers! Alms houses and village hospitals, which would be really useful in rural districts, are not mentioned in the Bill. Thus, heavy expenses will be imposed on the land at a time of serious depression when true statesmanship would seek to relieve the agricultural classes from some of their heavy burdens. . . . This Bill will surely not in any way benefit the rural labourer. . . . To set up, as is proposed, a brand-new talking and taxing machine in every rural parish will not tend to the advantage of proprietors, tenant farmers, or labourers."

The Property Protection Society issued the following statement of objections to some provisions of Clauses eight, nine, and ten (which are by no means the most dangerous Clauses) of the Parish Councils Bill :

1. Clause 8 proposes that Parish Councils shall have power, *inter alia*, "to provide or acquire buildings for public offices, and for meetings and other public purposes," and "to provide or acquire land for such buildings, and for a recreation ground and for public walks"; and Clause 9 empowers District Councils to acquire land compulsorily for these purposes or allotments.

2. It is submitted that compulsory powers cannot safely be entrusted to such small bodies as the proposed Parish and District Councils, but that, if such powers are to be granted by the Bill, they should be granted to the County Councils as under the existing Allotments Acts. Moreover, no local authority ought to be entrusted with power to acquire land compulsorily for such vague objects as "public purposes," or for "recreation grounds" and "public walks."

3. In many parishes the great bulk of the rates is paid by a very small minority of the inhabitants. Under the Bill, Parish Councils, mainly elected by non-ratepayers, will have power to tax these persons, and then to apply the proceeds to the purpose of taking their property.

4. Clause 9, sub-section 3, proposes : (a) That any order made by the Local Government Board for the acquisition of land for the purposes of a Parish Council, or for allotments otherwise than by agreement, "shall not require confirmation by Parliament."

5. This proposal directly contravenes a well-established principle of British legislation. It has been the constant practice of Parliament to refuse to entrust powers for the compulsory acquisition of private property, even for special objects of approved public benefit, to any authority than itself.

6. If this innovation is sanctioned by Parliament, land-owners in many districts will be absolutely at the mercy of the Local Government Board and its clerks. However anxious the Local Government Board may be to act fairly, yet cases of difficulty would certainly arise from time to time; while the Minister presiding over the Board would be specially subjected to local political pressure, and wholesale injustice might thus take place.

7. It is understood that the proposal is defended on the ground that the confirmation of a Provisional Order by Parliament increases the costs incurred by the local authority. It is submitted that this argument is met by the usual clause providing that, if a Provisional Order Bill is opposed, the Committee to whom the Bill is referred shall take into consideration the circumstances under which such opposition is made to the Bill, and whether such opposition is or is not justified by the circumstances, and shall award costs accordingly, to be paid by the prompters or the opponents of the Bill, as the Committee may think just. The peril of costs almost entirely prevents unreasonable opposition.

8. Experience has shown that the Provisional Order system, embodied in the existing Allotments Acts, has been both efficient and economical. In the great majority of cases the process of acquiring allotments has been carried out with little or no cost, and in the only case in which unreasonable opposition can be said to have been offered

to the administration of the Acts, the landowner was practically fined £1,000, in the shape of costs, for her opposition. It is confidently believed that the bureaucratic system proposed by the Bill will be more expensive than the Provisional Order system, while it will usually be less expeditious, and sometimes more oppressive.

9. Clause 9, sub-section 3, further proposes: (b) that, "in determining the amount of disputed compensation, the arbitrator shall not make any additional allowance in respect of the purchase being compulsory."

10. It is submitted that the arbitrator should not be placed under any such special restriction, and that he should be left free to settle the amount of compensation in accordance with the ordinary practice, which makes a reasonable allowance in order to cover the cost of the re-investment of the purchase money. Under the clause as it stands, a landowner will practically be fined on account of his own expropriation.

11. Clause 10 proposes that land, instead of being bought, may be compulsorily hired by Parish Councils.

12. It is submitted that this novel principle of dealing with property should not be sanctioned by this Right Honourable House. The properties subject to this compulsory hiring will be practically unsaleable during the tenancies, and at the termination of the tenancies the properties will almost certainly be returned to the owners in a deteriorated condition.

13. All the above-mentioned proposals will depreciate the value of real property by the introduction of new and incalculable elements of insecurity and uncertainty, and will tend to deter the investment of capital in land and houses in the country. The chief sufferers will be the existing small rural proprietors. These persons, whose aggregate rental exceeds the aggregate rental of the large proprietors, can ill afford to bear additional burdens.

14. Landowners as a body have shown great willingness to satisfy the demand for allotments for labourers. The last

Parliamentary return shows that more than 450,000 allotments have been voluntarily provided by landowners, and that nearly 100,000 allotments were so provided between the years 1886 and 1890. It may be urged, therefore, that no necessity exists for the drastic proposals of the Bill.

It is really difficult to say whether the Finance Bill or the Parish Councils Bill is a greater triumph for Socialism. Both measures are unmistakably Socialistic; both are attacks upon property-owners, and proceed upon the principle of robbing one class to benefit another; whilst the Parish Councils Bill also sacrifices the rights and liberties of the well-to-do classes in the most ruthless manner. Of the two measures probably this is the most iniquitous. The more it is examined, and its consequences forecasted, the more amazing it becomes that such a measure should have been brought forward by the Liberal party; whilst its acceptance by the Conservative party, particularly by the House of Lords, is enough to stagger the faith of the most optimistic Englishman among us in the stability of the principles and institutions upon which we have hitherto prided ourselves.

3. *The Finance Bill.* On the principle of this Bill, which is the main thing to look at, we have already expressed our opinion in dealing with the right of bequest; consequently but little need be added here. The Bill was passed through the House of Commons in the middle of July, 1894, though not until it had been ably and strenuously opposed by the Conservatives, and especially by their leader, Mr. A. J. Balfour. At the time of writing the Bill is just being sent up to the House of Lords, where no serious effort, it appears, is to be made to amend it, on the pedantic ground that the Peers have no right to touch a money Bill. On what basis this prevalent idea rests is not apparent. The Duke of Rutland has pointed out that there has never been any declaration of the law to this effect, and that even on the ground of custom the contention of the Commons is baseless, inasmuch as the Lords did interfere with money

Bills up to a comparatively recent period. Lord Lyndhurst strenuously upheld the right of the Peers in this respect in 1860 against Mr. Gladstone and his party, who were then loudly contending that the Lords were impotent to reject a money Bill either in whole or in part. Lyndhurst proved the impotence to be rather with the Commons than the Lords. Lord Grimthorpe is a great legal authority on the same side. The Duke of Rutland pertinently asks why, if the powers of the House of Lords are as restricted and those of the House of Commons as absolute as is contended, the Commons do not again, as they did during the Commonwealth, pass a resolution affirming that the Upper House shall cease to exist. It is certainly difficult to see what is the good of having a House of Lords at all if it has no power to reject or to alter Bills dealing with taxation. If the Peers accept and pass into law this measure of "Democratic Finance," contenting themselves with a mere protest, as seems likely to be the case, they will go far towards convincing many of their best friends that they are a useless body. The weapons of Socialistic warfare are chiefly financial and taxational, and if it is to be seriously held that the Upper House has no alternative but to accept Bills which deal with taxation, we may have the entire Socialistic programme embodied in legislation in despite of the House of Lords. A little ingenuity on the part of the framers of these measures, wholesale bribery of the constituencies in order to snatch a majority, are, under these circumstances, all that is necessary to hand over the country to Socialistic iniquity and slavery. If this is the true construction of the British Constitution we are indeed in an evil case. Amid the anxieties and uncertainties caused by the vagaries of Democratic fanaticism it has been some consolation to know that we had the House of Lords to fall back upon; that the members of this House, who are beyond the arts of the wirepuller and the intimidation of the demagogue, would fearlessly do their duty; and that the body which saved Ireland from Home Rule and pre-

served the liberty of the British workman would also save the nation from the untold miseries of Socialistic bondage. If the House of Lords is to prove a broken reed, where then is our hope?

Sir William Harcourt's scheme of "Democratic Finance" is the most daring and most dangerous Socialistic innovation that has so far been made in our legislation. It was inspired by hostility towards the wealthier classes of the community, and avowedly undertaken from purely political motives—or in other words, to gain votes. Whilst its operation will be unjust to the rich, it will be literally oppressive towards those who, by their ability and industry, have realised small fortunes and enjoy small incomes, and it will not, as a compensation, bestow one single benefit upon the poor. On the contrary it will, in the long run, do more harm to the poor than to the rich. For it will press with especial severity upon landowners and the agricultural interest generally, and in consequence they will employ less labour. The Duke of Devonshire* states that the almost certain effect of the "enormous exactions" levied under the new Death Duties upon estate owners will be that his successor will be unable to keep up "great places like Chatsworth, or Hardwick, or Bolton Abbey, or Lismore Castle." What does this mean? First, that the community will be deprived of the pleasure which is now derived from these palatial houses and their magnificent gardens; but also, secondly, that hundreds of workmen now employed at these places will be no longer required. How is that going to benefit the working man? Further, the Duke stated that in all cases thirty per cent., and in many cases seventy per cent., of the income derived from the Devonshire estates are returned to the estates in the shape of expenditure on improvements, and that those improvements must cease when the State, under this new law, has exacted from his successor an amount equal "to from six to ten,

* Speech at Buxton, June 13, 1894.

and possibly twelve, years of any available income which he had ever received from the estates which he had inherited." Those improvements mean the furnishing of work to a small army of working men and of a thousand appliances and comforts to farmers and other tenants. Who is going to be benefited by the cessation of those improvements? And if such retrenchment takes place in the case of a great and wealthy nobleman like the Duke of Devonshire, how much more in the case of smaller and poorer landowners. * All through the rural districts workmen and servants will be discharged, and these will migrate to the already overcrowded towns to compete for such employment as there exists. Capital will be injured, because a considerable proportion of it will be seized by the State; labour will be injured, because its available amount will be decreased.

Mr. Balfour, in describing Sir W. Harcourt's Bill, said: "He has borrowed, I will not say the actual policy of any Socialist programme, but certainly some of the arguments by which some of those Socialist programmes have been supported." Again: "I do not know whether the House realizes what inquisitorial powers the Government have given to the Inland Revenue Department, what duties they have thrown on the unhappy executor, by what penalties they mean to enforce the revealing of every 6d. belonging to the deceased. We look back at the days of the Star

* Mr. F. J. Savile Foljambe, in a letter to *The Times*, of January 30, 1894, states that in the case of his own estate "the sum expended in tenants' buildings and improvements during 23 years would, when capitalised, with interest at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (not too large a percentage when the keeping up of buildings is considered), amount to more than half the yearly rent received from the land, so that the occupiers, after having paid the interest on buildings and improvements, practically hold their land at less than half the nominal rent, which has been already reduced one-third to meet the agricultural depression." Mr. Foljambe states that "Democratic Finance" means the destruction of his class.

Chamber as days when tyranny prevailed, but, upon my word, the system of tyranny under this Bill far exceeds any ingenuity which ever occurred to such apprentices as those of the time of Charles I. Perpetual imprisonment is the penalty by which failure to do all kinds of difficult duties is visited upon the unfortunate executor. I do not know who is going to be an executor." Sir W. Harcourt's Socialistic arguments were adduced in support of a Socialistic policy. That policy is to treat the property of rich men as a legitimate object of pillage for the benefit of poor men : to treat wealth as a sin, and poverty as a virtue ; to exact from individuals, on behalf of the State, large sums of money for which no equivalent is rendered by the State. Even that semi-Socialist, John Stuart Mill, had the sense to perceive and the honesty to admit, that all systems of graduated taxation are forms of robbery, He says : " To tax the larger incomes at a higher percentage than the smaller is to lay a tax on industry and economy ; to impose a penalty on people for having worked harder and saved more than their neighbours. It is partial taxation, which is a mild form of robbery. A just and wise legislation would scrupulously abstain from opposing obstacles to the acquisition of even the largest fortune by honest exertion." Now, all this is precisely what the new " Democratic Finance " does : it fines and punishes people for their industry and thrift ; it discourages legitimate acquisition, hampers capital, and injures labour ; it is iniquity and robbery. It has been shown that if A, B, C, D, and E possessed incomes of £200 (capital value, at 3 per cent., £6,666) ; £1,000 (£33,300) ; £5,000 (£166,500) ; £10,000 (£333,000) ; and £30,000 (£1,000,000) ; the four latter would, under Sir W. Harcourt's Act, pay *over and above their just share of taxation* to the following amounts : B, £166 10s. ; C, £3,330 ; D, £9,990 ; and E, £40,000. If it is not confiscation pure and simple to take these sums from these men, or their families, then no such thing as confiscation exists. If it is not injustice of the most odious and intolerable kind, then such injustice

has never been practised by any tyrant or slave-master in the darkest ages of the world's history. Yet this measure has been conceived by Liberal statesmen, supported and carried by the Liberal Party; whilst even the Conservatives, as a Party, have not opposed to it such a determined and desperate resistance as the gravity of the case demanded. This measure was born in envy, and in greed did its author conceive it, and it will walk in the ways of injustice all its days. Its malignant nature can produce only malign effects, and these will blast and blight some of the higher qualities of the nation's life, as the mildew and the caterpillar and the canker-worm penetrate the choicest fruits with disease and decay.

4. We have now to examine, briefly, the *general policy of the Liberal Government in relation to labour questions*. For the adequate treatment of this branch of the subject the whole of this volume would barely suffice, and we must therefore be content with the merest hints and outlines. It will be sufficient to glance at their action in respect of three matters.

(a). *The Eight Hours' Bill*. It has been clearly shown in the course of this work that this measure is in its inception, nature, and design, purely Socialistic; that it is a mere device for coercing employers into paying more money for the same amount of work, or in other words to increase the cost of production; and that it is of a most perilous character, and fraught with evil to the industrial interests of the nation. No Government ought to have countenanced it in any degree. Yet the present Government have not only given special facilities for the advancement of the Eight Hours' Bill for Miners (a most absurd measure, which proposes to fine the employer, and not the miner, should the latter stay down the pit too long), but they have actually adopted the eight hours' day in the workshops of the Admiralty and the War Office. The inevitable result will be a large increase in the cost of production. But this will not matter to the politicians who now happen to be in office, as the deficiency will be made up out of public funds,

while they will get the votes which they are seeking. It is computed that the extra cost in one department of the Woolwich Arsenal alone will be £10,000 a year. Mr. A. B. Forwood, M.P., a former Lord of the Admiralty, has stated that during the last four years the country has spent £168,000 in giving boons of various kinds to dockyard workmen. This is public money, however, and so who cares?

But what about the private employer? He has no purse of Fortunatus to dip into in the shape of a public treasury. To him a slight increase in the cost of production means loss of profit, and loss of profit means ruin. The Government has adopted the Eight Hours' day, under distinct pressure from the Socialistic Labour Party—perhaps it would be more correct to say at Socialist dictation,* for the purpose of putting pressure upon private employers. This is a gratuitous and a wanton blow at the British capitalist, and therefore in the long run at the British labourer; for the adoption of an Eight Hours' day in general industries would mean the transfer of the bulk of British manufactures to other countries. And this blow was struck at the men who have made this country what it is for no other reason than to gratify Trade Union Socialists and to win their political support. Of a more ungrateful or a more dishonourable action no British Government has ever been guilty. Whilst the Government thus went out of its way to truckle to Socialists, it refused to even acknowledge the receipt of a memorial on behalf of the engineering and ship-building industries, setting forth their objections to an Eight Hours' day. The action of the Government on this subject, from beginning to end, argues almost implacable hostility towards the private capitalist. And if there is one class which beyond any other may be said to be the backbone of the country, and to deserve encouragement from the Government, it is the class of private capitalists. These men, however, do not seek, nor does anyone on their behalf

* See H. H. Champion's letter in *The Times* of Jan. 8, 1894.

demand, special favour from the Legislature ; but they are at least entitled to justice and to the ordinary rights of citizens.

(b). The administrative action of the Government on Labour questions.

One point which we have sought to emphasize in various parts of this work is that administration is of more vital importance to the community than legislation ; for whilst legislation usually affects only portions of the community administration touches the interests of every citizen. The tendency of late has been to multiply the functions and to increase the power of the administrative arm, the consequence being that each successive Government has larger opportunities of interfering in the concerns and harassing the interests of the citizens. Employers and capitalists have been made to realise this during Mr. Asquith's term of office as they have never realised it before. The Home Office exercises very large powers of control over some of our greatest industries, such as mines, cotton and woollen factories, and workshops where boots and clothing are made, and if the Home Secretary happens to be a doctrinaire, without any practical knowledge of manufactures, or a mere politician, who is intent mainly upon gaining support for his party, he may not only make the lives of employers almost intolerable, but he may also inflict irreparable injury upon our national industry. Mr. Asquith is not only a doctrinaire, and an extreme party politician, but he is a sort of Fabian Socialist to boot ; indeed, if we mistake not, he is or has been actually a member of the Fabian Society. As a lawyer he knows nothing at first hand about the trade and commerce over which he is able to exercise such large powers, and therefore his judgment is of little or no value ; whilst as a politician with Socialistic proclivities his natural bias is towards pleasing the workmen as much as possible. On both these accounts he is a very undesirable type of administrator to have at the Home Office.

Recent legislation (the Act of 1891) has armed the Home Secretary with very wide administrative powers with regard

to certain industries, and these enable him at his own will and pleasure—or caprice—to impose upon both employers and work-people restrictions and regulations of a most oppressive character. In pursuance of these powers, Mr. Asquith, ever since he went to the Home Office, has been initiating “reforms.” Inquiries of all kinds have been set on foot, which means that a sort of Economic Inquisition has been established, with its centre in London and ramifications in Glasgow, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Blackburn, Sheffield, Newcastle, and other centres of industry, and a little army of new inspectors, both male and female, have been appointed. Industry is being inspected and inquisitioned to death. All this is done under the pretext that it is necessary to check the evils of what is called “the sweating system.” As if that system could ever be put down by regulation or legislation, or by anything but the removal of its cause, which is a demand for cheap goods.

Under the powers committed to him, the Home Secretary is enabled on his own motion, without consulting Parliament or even any other executive authority, to schedule certain industries as dangerous, and acting under these powers Mr. Asquith has declared red, orange, or yellow lead smelting, the turning and enamelling of iron hollow ware, electric accumulator works, flax mills, and linen factories to be occupations dangerous to health, which means that he has been able to dictate the conditions under which those industries are carried on. Not content with all this, however, Mr. Asquith seeks for still larger powers, and on April 30th, 1894, he introduced a “Factories and Workshops Bill,” the object of which is to give the Home Secretary such powers. He described this Bill as “not at all contentious,” though besides imposing a number of ridiculous limitations upon both masters and operatives in excess of those imposed by the general Factory Acts, it places laundries under those Acts, and also docks, wharves, and “places where buildings are temporarily constructed”;

in the case of tenement factories, occupied by various small manufacturers, it makes the owner, who may be an invalid or a widow hundreds of miles away, responsible for the sanitary condition of the factory (which depends upon the habits of the workpeople), the fencing of the machinery, "and a number of matters of that kind"; and it proposes to amend, or rather to substitute for what was called the "particulars" clause in the Act of 1891, a new clause, which would apply that enactment to all piece-workers in the textile trades, and which would require employers in those trades to provide to every worker paid by the piece, a plain, definite form in writing, giving such particulars as would enable the operative to compute the wages payable to him in respect of each piece handed over to him to work upon. He asked the House to consent to read the Bill a first time on the understanding that ample time would be given before the second reading was taken, and that ultimately it might be referred to the Standing Committee on Trade. Besides all this, the Bill, in the case of dangerous and unhealthy employments (or what the Home Secretary regards as such) gives power to the Secretary of State, in addition to his present powers, to restrict the hours of employment, and altogether to forbid the employment of women, young persons, and children. And this Bill, which transforms the Home Secretary into a Dictator of Industry, is described as "not at all contentious"! Is it not obvious that the State, like a huge octopus, is stretching its tentacles wider and wider, and embracing an ever-increasing number of individuals? Yes; and in proportion as the creature is wisely or unwisely managed will it make those tentacles tighten or relax their grip, though its normal tendency will be to keep it tight and make it ever tighter, until some day the last breath of life will be squeezed out of its unfortunate victim. England's great national industries were not built up by this peddling, pottering, tinkering, meddlesome interference at every touch and turn with the freedom of the master and the

workman ; nor can they be sustained by it, or in harmony with it. The largest possible liberty for the individual, whether master or man, combined with sterling work, have made England what she is, and they alone can keep her what she is. But these old-fashioned principles have no chance now-a-days.

Before leaving Mr. Asquith it may be admitted that in respect of one matter he almost did his duty ; we refer to his action in suppressing labour riots in South Wales and in Yorkshire. Coal strikes occurred in both of these districts, and the miners, practising the doctrines of the "New Unionism," which have received the benison of leading Liberal politicians (and of some less prominent Conservative and Liberal Unionist politicians as well), proceeded to destroy the possessions of their employers and the liberties of their fellow workmen. In South Wales outrage and intimidation were rampant and unchecked, and peaceable and orderly workmen, left unprotected by the Government, had to combine in self-defence. At Ebbw Vale a pitched battle took place, a horde of strikers, who invaded the town for the purpose of intimidating the workmen who are its inhabitants, being fiercely attacked by the latter, defeated, and driven back over the mountains. Upon this *The Times* remarked : "That is highly satisfactory so far as it goes. But it is simply monstrous that in a civilized community such means should be employed to vindicate the most elementary of personal rights—the right to work. There is no use in ignoring plain truths on this all-important subject. Resort to physical violence is the natural outcome of the 'New Unionism.' If agitators with a strong personal interest, both monetary and otherwise, in the promotion of trade disputes are allowed to band immense numbers of the roughest members of the community together in organizations which make the official clique supreme, to utilise this mechanism for stamping out all individual resistance to their own imperious dictation, to stimulate the fiercest passions of their followers by un-

measured invective against all who dare to resist their behests, and then to march infuriated mobs down upon the objects of their denunciation, disorder, plunder, and bloodshed are manifestly inevitable. Everybody is perfectly well aware of the fact. They know that strikes of a certain class always are accompanied by violence, and that without violence these 'movements' would be impossible. Nevertheless the leaders of both parties in the State habitually shrink from taking in good time the steps necessary to protect the liberties of the workers. Both, it is true, are invariably driven to do so more or less imperfectly in the end, and by a just Nemesis they thereby get all the unpopularity and none of the gratitude which promptitude and energy would bring them at the first." Soldiers were sent at last to restore order, but too late. The same thing occurred in Yorkshire, where the Featherstone riots resulted in the death of two of the rioters by shots from the military. In each case the authorities displayed a lamentable lack of foresight, and allowed disorder to gather head before they suppressed it. When we say that Mr. Asquith "almost did his duty" in these matters, we mean that he did what would have amounted to a proper fulfilment of his duty had it been done in time. But his arm was evidently restrained by the fear of alienating the votes of working men from his party. When, after all his hesitation, he found himself compelled to act, he was attacked by Labour agitators just as fiercely as he would have been at first. In defending himself against these strictures he gave utterance to some very wholesome sentiments, upon which it is a pity he did not act more spontaneously and more thoroughly. Another sign of weakness was the granting of an inquiry into the Featherstone riots.* This was wholly unnecessary, and

* Still worse was the re-opening of Trafalgar-square to demonstrations of the "unemployed," Socialists, &c., which was entirely Mr. Asquith's act. At the very first meeting permitted by him language of the most violent character was used against capitalists and the wealthy

was unwarranted by facts. It was demanded by the Labour Party on the ground that the firing of the soldiers was "murderous," and they intended to use it as a means of discrediting the authorities, attacking the capitalists, and fomenting the spirit of lawlessness. However, the result of the inquiry was a clear and unequivocal vindication of the conduct both of the troops and of the local authorities who employed them.†

Space will not admit of a detailed examination of the petty, perpetual, and irritating interference with Government contractors which has taken place during the last two Parliaments under both Conservative and Liberal Administrations, and which has taken place purely in the interests of Trade Unions; but the principles involved in such interference, and the results to which it will inevitably lead, are discussed in the former portion of this work.‡ There are, however, two other aspects of the Labour policy of the present Government which must be briefly adverted to. The first is the establishment of a Labour Department of the Board of Trade. To such a Department in itself no objection can of course exist. Everything depends upon the spirit which actuates it and the objects for which it is used. And here again we have indubitable evidence that this new piece of machinery is to be worked chiefly in the interests of Trade Unions. In connection with the Department twenty-four correspondents have been appointed to supply local information, their remuneration being at the rate of from

classes, and since then the seeds of Socialism and Anarchy have been sedulously sown at many meetings in the same place. The re-opening of Trafalgar-square to such meetings was so entirely unnecessary that it could only have been prompted by one motive. The Socialists hailed it as another triumph for their cause.

† Damage was done by the rioters in Yorkshire to the amount of £11,571, and the cost of the extra police employed was over £5,000.

‡ See Vol. I, p. 373, Library Edition.

£10 to £50 a year. But these correspondents, according to the *Labour Gazette*, the organ of the Department, are “connected for the most part with important trade organisations” (and from what was said in Parliament on March 12, 1893, it is clear that they are mostly Radicals in politics as well), and they are to furnish the *Gazette* with statements “*from the workmen’s point of view.*” It is coolly assumed that Trade Unions, though they include only one workman in seven, represent the whole of the working classes, and the existence of the immense majority of seven to one who are outside these Unions is coolly ignored. This one fact, which is a disgrace to a British Government, is of itself sufficient to render both the figures concerning labour and the conclusions drawn from them untrustworthy and worthless.*

The other aspect of the present Government’s Labour policy is the appointment of working-men magistrates. Such men have been pitch-forked into the magistracy in a perfectly reckless manner, and in such numbers as to suggest some ulterior and sinister purpose. On May 15, 1893, Mr. Asquith admitted that thirty-six working-men justices of the peace had been appointed in England alone, and England exclusive of Lancashire, since the previous July; while Mr. Bryce admitted on the same occasion that thirty-three such magistrates had been appointed in Lancashire alone since the previous August. Mr. Bryce further said that the number included “certain persons who were in the employment of working-men’s associations,” an euphemism for Trade Union secretaries and professional agitators. In Derbyshire two miners’ agents were appointed, and in

* Mr. Geoffrey Drage, secretary to the Labour Commission, pronounces the Labour Department to be unsystematic, extravagant, and comparatively useless. (Preface to his volume on the *Unemployed*—Macmillan & Co.) He forgets that its chief use is, and was designed to be, to gratify Trade Unionists and to find some of them a little honourable Government employment.

Hartlepool one of the new magistrates was local secretary of the Sailors' Union and another was general secretary of the Labourers' Federation of Great Britain. These are examples of what has gone on all over the country. Now, if a workman possesses the qualifications requisite to the performance of magisterial duties, and also the necessary leisure, there is no reason why he should not be placed on the Bench. There is no objection to the working-man as such. But there are very serious objections of a general nature to the appointment of Trade Union officials as magistrates, and these are sufficiently obvious to those who know what the spirit of Trade Unionism is. Moreover, there is a particular objection of great weight. Labour agitators are never weary of inveighing against the impropriety of magistrates adjudicating upon cases arising out of labour disputes in which they are interested as employers. During the recent dock and coal strikes they contended that no colliery or ship owner ought to sit on the Bench, and the Bristol Trades Council sent a deputation to the Lord Chancellor to ask that "working men" should be appointed to the local Bench on the ground that the present magistrates, being employers, "were incapable of giving a just and impartial decision." But are not Trade Union officials partisans of a most pronounced and dangerous type? Are they not paid to take one side only? Yet these men, forsooth, are to be paragons of integrity, whilst capitalists, who generally are at least men of intelligence, are to be tabooed as arbitrary and unjust men! By Section 67 of the Mines Regulation Act, 1872, no owner, agent, or manager of any mine, or their near relations, can act as a member of a Court in respect of an offence tried under that Act; and yet a paid miners' agent can adjudicate upon such cases, whilst the mine owner or his agent have to stand aside. At every point Trade Unionism is patted on the back by politicians, whilst Capital is slapped in the face.

No wonder the Trade Unionists and Socialists are exultant; for things are going as well as they could wish.

“See how Trade Unionism flourishes under a Liberal Postmaster-General!” exclaims one of their organs, and the organ of the Postmen’s Federation boasts that “the Department, without openly acknowledging the Federation, have not disdained to *send for the leaders* when any matter connected with postmen needed adjustment.” Another of their organs cries: “Labour is forging fast ahead in this Liberal Administration!” And the Secretary of the Trade Union Congress of 1893 stated that owing to the favour which the Government had bestowed upon “Labour” the following gains had been achieved: 1. Workmen magistrates appointed. 2. Guardians’ qualification lowered. 3. A “new grade” of factory inspectors created to smooth the way for working-men inspectors. 4. The Labour Department greatly expanded, and the *Labour Gazette* started. 5. The Miners’ Eight Hours Bill accepted by the House of Commons. 6. The principle of local option with regard to shop hours regulation adopted. 7. An Act passed to keep hours on railways within reasonable limits. 8. Motion carried for payment of members. 9. Measure providing for inquiring into fatal accidents in Scotland waiting for report stage.

So far we have dwelt almost exclusively upon the attitude of the Liberal party towards the Socialistic Labour movement. It could easily be demonstrated, however, that a not uninfluential section of the Conservative party, and that the Liberal Unionist party with Mr. Chamberlain at its head, manifest strong Socialistic tendencies. This, indeed, is the most dangerous element of the situation. We should have nothing to fear from extreme Labour doctrines or from Socialism, even if they were embraced by the Liberal party and supported by its entire strength, provided that the Conservative party was Anti-Socialist, and that it could be relied upon to fight the battle of freedom and of justice. But as it is we have no party in the kingdom that can be trusted to uphold the vital principles which have made England what she is; upon which indeed civilisation itself

is based. Unless such a party is evolved out of the chaos and the strife of the immediate future the days, at all events the happy and prosperous days, of this country are numbered.

We are not unmindful of the fact that politicians are but politicians; that they are, from the nature of the case, opportunists; that they are not autocrats to carry out their own will, but servants of the nation to carry out its will; and that they must be content to do what they can, and not what they would. But whilst they are the servants of the nation they are also its advisers, and the people look to them for counsel, for direction, even for warning, remonstrance, and actual resistance, when these are needed. And the people have more respect for a statesman who opposes them to their face, and refuses to march at their head any longer, when he believes them to be going wrong, than they have for one who, though he holds that they are entering upon the wrong course, nevertheless consents to lead them. Formerly our statesmen claimed some power of initiative and of choice, maintained a large measure of vigorous independence, and looked for some reliance to be placed upon their judgment; that is to say they acted, and claimed to be treated, as intelligent, conscientious, and responsible men. Alas! that type of statesman is almost extinct. In his place we have a mere politician who is his antithesis in every respect. If Democracy has done nothing else for us it has destroyed the race of great statesmen who were once our pride and glory. A few capable and honourable men we have who, under heavy disadvantages, are fighting a good fight. All praise to them! But as for the majority of our politicians, they are not content to be the servants of the people; they go before the people, anticipate their wishes, pander to their prejudices. It is well that they should go before the people when we are on the right road, but not well when we are on the wrong one, as we decidedly are at present on those questions which are social and economical.

The effect of this waywardness on the part of our politicians, these incessant attacks upon capital, these continual encroachments upon individual liberty, is to create in the community a perpetual sense of uncertainty, a dread of the next thing that may happen, a haunting sensation of insecurity. Confidence is dead. Here we have precisely the conditions which induce stagnation, paralysis, decay. The worst evils of tyranny have always flowed from the simple fact that it destroyed confidence. No man could be sure that he would be allowed to enjoy what he produced ; therefore he did not produce. Production will be suspended wherever insecurity reigns. Whatever tends to beget uncertainty tends to check and limit production, that is to decrease wealth and comfort, that is to increase poverty and misery. Certainty is the most encouraging stimulus to every operation of human industry. It is the secret force by which productive energy is sustained ; by which the destroying forces are kept under ; by which the balance between man and Nature is preserved ; by which civilisation itself continues to exist. Dissipate that secret force, substitute for it the opposing force of uncertainty, and the productive energy of the country will immediately cease. Let that cease, and the fields become barren and desolate, the towns are forsaken, the roads become impassable, the canals are choked up, the rivers break down their banks, the sea itself swallows up the land. Security is

“What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so ; insecurity is

“What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat.”

If we have not suffered severely in this country as yet from these confiscations of property and infringements of liberty, it is because that certainty which the citizen possesses that he will be permitted to retain his property and enjoy his liberty unmolested, which is the growth of centuries of good government, is not easily broken down. But it has certainly been badly shaken, and to that extent

the social fabric has been impaired. If the mischief spreads the results may be disastrous. What the actual position is may be judged from these words of the Marquis of Salisbury, uttered in the House of Lords on January 30, 1893: "What we really suffer under is want of confidence. I do not say that most of it comes from political causes; it comes from causes of great variety; but one of the elements, and one which I fear will last the longest, is the apprehensions which are being caused in the minds of the owners of Capital and the owners of Property, partly by legislation which has been already adopted, and very much more from the doctrines which are freely published by artisans and those who have rule in this country at this time. THERE IS NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHERE PROPERTY IS NOW SO INSECURE AGAINST LEGISLATIVE ATTACK AS IT IS IN ENGLAND, and depend upon it, you will feel the evil results of such a state of things in a gradual diminution of confidence and in a gradual withdrawal of Capital, producing an aggravation of the depression under which we labour."

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL ECONOMY: THE OLD AND THE NEW.

WE have previously remarked in the course of this work that no science is really more simple, that none ought to be more attractive, than Political Economy, which relates to the commonest things of daily life. But Rousseau made one wise observation when he said that "it requires a great deal of philosophy to *observe* once what is *seen* every day." The things of Political Economy are seen every day; perhaps that is the reason why so few people perceive or understand them. The province of this science has been admirably defined to be "to observe and explain the laws which govern the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of those articles of utility essential to the subsistence and comfort of the human race which we call Wealth," to treat of "the Wants of man and the Means of satisfying them." Nothing could well be simpler or more natural. If in some of its aspects the science of political economy appears to be technical, complex, abstruse to a degree that baffles the average mind, this arises partly from the almost innumerable wants of man in a highly civilised state and the consequent multiplicity and variety of the means required to satisfy them, and partly from the academic and professional spirit of its professors, who too often write as if they wished to form a special cult and did not wish the ordinary man of the world to grasp too much of their meaning. In reality, however, there is nothing in the science that the average mind cannot fully understand; while it is certainly difficult to conceive of any branch of human knowledge that has a more attractive or perennial charm for those who do understand it.

Nevertheless, of all the sciences Political Economy is perhaps the one that has fewest true friends. Even its teachers are half-hearted; they speak in halting tones; they are paralysed by feebleness and incertitude. As for its enemies they stigmatise it as the "dismal science." Statesmen, when they find that its dictates and doctrines are inconvenient, airily banish it to Saturn. Yet Political Economy, like wisdom, is justified of its children. Both nations and rulers of nations find out in time that it is at their peril that they ignore it and trample it underfoot. Political Economy is a much misunderstood science. By one class of persons it is disparaged because, in their judgment, it is a hypothetical science, that is to say, that it deals largely with assumptions and suppositions. But the same objection might be urged with more or less force against every science. Even physical sciences are in some sense hypothetical. In every branch of inquiry something must be assumed to start with, and something else must be supposed as we go along. As Professor Marshall puts it: "Even in a prediction of an eclipse there is a suppressed condition that the Solar System will not meanwhile have been disturbed by the explosion of one of its members, or the advent of a large external body. Such disturbances are so unlikely that astronomy is justified in taking no account of them. Nevertheless, it is based on hypothesis." It has been suggested that nobody can read the work of a certain professor of Political Economy without asking if there is any subject dealt with in the work "where the rule does not disappear beneath the exceptions." This simply means that the professor referred to has found it necessary, in order to prevent his work from being misunderstood, to repeat certain qualifying and conditioning clauses pretty frequently. It is pretty certain, however, that if economical writers were to deal simply in vague and absolute statements they would be even more misunderstood than they are now. Just as every man thinks he can write a play, and every woman thinks she can write a novel, so every ordinary citizen

flatters himself that he understands Political Economy, and hence the principles of the science are constantly misunderstood and misapplied, and the science itself is made to suffer reproach on account of the errors and perversions of these ignoramuses and bunglers. Adam Smith, the greatest of political economists, was accustomed to omit all conditioning clauses, and by so doing he attained great simplicity and directness of style, and this is one of the chief reasons why he has been so greatly misunderstood. So that the objection that Political Economy is hypothetical is seen to be puerile. So far indeed is Political Economy from being hypothetical that it may be said to deal less with suppositions and more with facts than almost any other science. It is based on experience and certitude. Professor Shield Nicholson points out the remarkable fact that two-thirds of the "Wealth of Nations" is history, and that "it is history of the first rank, and it is so because it is history that is introduced for the illustration, confirmation, or qualification, as the case may be, of principles." Adam Smith's comparative method led him to survey mankind literally from China to Peru. "What is the underlying assumption in this procedure? It is simply that in economic affairs, in matters of buying and selling in the widest sense of the terms, in satisfying wants by labour, in the accumulation of wealth, there are certain characteristics of human nature that may be regarded as fundamental. These are, no doubt, subject to modification by other influences, but modification is not total suppression or eradication. . . . The point of importance is the recognition of certain characteristics of human nature as fundamental; there is no other justification for the use of the comparative and historical methods in the broad manner of Adam Smith."

In some other quarters a strong prejudice exists against Political Economy because it is supposed to be a vulgar science. Because Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and the rest occupied themselves largely with inquiries relating to the production and distribution of wealth, the nature of

value, the uses of money, and similar subjects; because they analysed the motives which impel and govern men in the common actions of their daily lives, and demonstrated that the strongest of all human motives were of a selfish or self-regarding character; and because they were practical, hard-headed, common-sense men who rigorously drove their facts and arguments to logical conclusions; they are accused of being hard and harsh, and the science, itself, which is a study of wealth, is supposed to be in some way a commendation and glorification of selfishness. But the people who thus talk fail to discriminate between two very dissimilar things. To study the production and distribution of wealth scientifically is one thing; to recommend the pursuit of wealth for its own sake and as the end of life is another thing. Political Economy does the former, but not the latter. Indeed it would be quite beyond its function to say whether men ought or ought not to make the pursuit of wealth the end of life; for the purpose of Political Economy is to teach economics and not morality. Political Economy, like every other branch of human knowledge and inquiry, is progressive. It must in the nature of things be so, not only because its principles and laws are deduced from facts after prolonged and laborious investigations, but also because it deals with human society. Herein it differs materially from most other sciences. The geologist, the physiologist, the botanist, the astronomer, and many other scientific inquirers have an immense advantage in the fact that the subject matter of their study is practically unchangeable. The plants and animals which exist in the world are practically the same as to their species and structure to-day as they were five hundred years ago; a thousand years makes virtually scarcely any difference in the geological formations of the earth or in the solar system. But human society, with which our economist has to deal, is ever changing as to its circumstances and conditions. No doubt human nature, in the main, is the same to-day as it was originally; but the environment

amidst which that nature works, and by which it is influenced, has changed very materially indeed. And it is with the environment that the economist is very largely, if, indeed, he is not principally, concerned. It necessarily follows that a system of Political Economy, which is admirably adapted to one age, is wholly inapplicable to another, at all events, as regards much of its method and machinery ; though undoubtedly when we look at the substance and essence of the matter there is something in the very earliest and crudest systems of Political Economy which vitally connects them with the most recent and the most perfect embodiments of the science. Every age has its own economical problems to solve. The problems which confront us in this age are totally different from those with which our ancestors had to deal when England was a purely agricultural country, sparsely populated, and free from the responsibilities which now rest upon her. Strictly speaking, Political Economy is as yet merely in its infancy, and this is so mainly because the conditions under which civilised men live have been so revolutionised by the invention of printing, of the steam engine, of all kinds of industrial machinery, by the construction of railways and steamboats, and by electric communication, that human beings have been virtually placed in new circumstances, to which as yet they have scarcely had time to adjust themselves, and consequently the sociological facts and conditions with which Political Economy concerns itself are themselves virtually in their infancy. Even supposing that Political Economy as a science had attained to a perfect development before these inventions had been discovered, and before modern social and industrial conditions had been created, it would have been practically useless ; we should have had to construct a new Political Economy to meet the needs of the new time. As a matter of fact, however, Political Economy did not reach anything approaching perfection until the present century, and even now it is still very imperfect. It owes very little to the ancients — it is essentially a modern science.

Economic truth and economic freedom have been slowly growing through the centuries, and there has been gradually accumulating a body of facts and of laws affecting the economical relations of human beings, but there was no serious attempt to reduce the facts and laws to a system—that is, to treat them scientifically, until modern times.

There is some dispute as to who was really the originator of Political Economy as we now understand it. Professor Jevons thinks that Cantillon is entitled to this distinction. Professor Marshall thinks that the honour belongs to Quesnay. This writer, who was physician to Louis XV., made, in Professor Marshall's words, "the first systematical attempt to form an economic science on a broad basis." It will be seen, therefore, that France is the home of Political Economy as we now understand it. The circumstances which then prevailed in France impelled Quesnay and his coadjutors to study the subject afresh and under a new light. Life in France was very artificial, and the luxuriousness of the French Court was of the most extravagant description; indeed the country was being ruined by the luxury and the folly of the governing classes. The nobility paid a sixth of their income in taxes, the clergy paid only a fourteenth of their income, while the common people had to pay two-thirds of their income in taxes. Such a condition of things could not last.* Quesnay and his coadjutors pleaded for a return to a more natural state of things. Hence they were called physiocrats. No doubt the influence of Rosseau, whose philosophy was just then fashionable in French society and who had excited admiration for the "natural" life of the American Indians, assisted the new economists. This yearning after naturalism was not a new thing. It was a leading object of the old Roman Stoics, to whom the world owes so much, to discover the fundamental

* "It has been firmly established in theory, and confirmed by the experience of many nations, that excessive taxation is ruinous to a country."—*Professor Nicholson.*

laws of nature, and they set themselves to find out these essential laws, by which they believed that the accidental laws made by politics should be checked and governed. The Mercantile School has also been for generations appealing to Nature. The physiocrats were great free traders, and they were the first to teach that doctrine in all its breadth and fulness. They were actuated by noble aims and by lofty ideals, their great desire being to ameliorate the condition of the lower classes. Their chief error was that they regarded land as the source of all capital, and ignored the accumulation of labour. Marx and the Socialists treat labour as the source of all wealth, and ignore land.

Adam Smith was a greater political economist than Quesnay. In the most wide and accurate sense of the term, he was the father of Political Economy. Essentially he taught the same principles as the French physiocrats, but he taught them much more clearly and effectively, and embodied them in a complete and coherent system. What was taught in the way of economics before Adam Smith was not of very great value. Up to his time the science of economics, so far as it had been taught at all, was taught feebly, loosely, and sporadically. Of course, economics in some sense was known and taught among the Greeks and Romans. But they had no grasp of it as a science. They knew no real necessity to impel them to its study. Slavery was one of their fundamental institutions. All the menial work was thrown upon the slaves, the masters living as far as they could in ease and luxury. Aristotle held that slavery was an ordinance of nature, and both he and Plato despised labour, industry and commerce. Plato said: "Nature has made neither bootmakers nor blacksmiths. Such occupations degrade the people engaged in them, miserable mercenaries excluded by their very position from political rights." Aristotle said: "In the State which is best governed the citizens must not lead the life of mechanics or tradesmen, for such a life is ignoble and

inimical to virtue." The same philosopher places shepherds, pirates, brigands, and retail tradesmen in the same category. If Aristotle and Plato had formulated a system of political economy it would have been a very curious system indeed.

Adam Smith renders immense service to economical science by his wise and sound teachings on the subject of Free Trade, by his scientific investigations and demonstrations with regard to value, and still more by inculcating the cardinal principle that a government does more harm than good by interfering with the natural course of trade. How great a thinker and teacher Adam Smith was is not adequately realised even yet. Although, in common with all the older economists, he regarded the presumption that the State with its limited powers should not interfere with the freedom of individual enterprise as axiomatic, still he so regarded it only as a rule, to which there were certain clearly established exceptions. He advocated popular education (though not at the expense of the State, that is of one man's children at the expense of another man), general military training, and the suppression of the truck system. McCulloch and other disciples of Smith have (as disciples usually do) outrun their master, and extended this list of exceptions. "But these exceptions," says Professor Nicholson, "were all based upon reasoned principles, such as the incapacity of the persons concerned, *e.g.*, children to make fair contracts; the lack of individual interest in public works, *e.g.*, the maintenance of roads; and the importance of the highest security, as in the regulation of the issues of bank notes. And in spite of all these exceptions—strengthened and purified by these exceptions—the presumption remained undisturbed." Still, the teachings of Adam Smith, vital and fundamental as they are, and true for all time as they must remain, or not of immediate or thrilling interest to the people of the present day, mainly because the conditions of society in our time are vastly different from those which prevailed when the "Wealth of

Nations " was written The same may be said with regard to the work of Ricardo, Bentham, McCulloch, and others. These writers dealt largely with such subjects as the rent of agricultural land, the price of corn, theories of currency and theories of foreign trade. All these were matters which affected capitalists and merchants much more directly than they affected the mass of people. No doubt it is largely because these subjects lay beyond the range of ordinary citizens that people generally came to regard Political Economy as an abstruse science which had no relation whatever to their work or their lives. It must be admitted that in the hands of some of its expositors Political Economy has not been made as practical and as useful as it might have been. Nevertheless, on the whole and in the main the economists referred to dealt with questions which were of immediate importance to the men of their time. If they did not take much account of the working man they only imitated the example of politicians, and as the greatest of them lived and wrote before our industries had developed the enormous proportions which they have since assumed, and before the franchise was extended to every householder, they could not be expected to deal with those problems which have since arisen and which are now becoming so acute.

It is a mistake to suppose that there is any gulf between the old Political Economy and the new; that is when they are properly understood. There has not even been any breach of continuity. The new Political Economy, so far as it is true, is a natural outgrowth of the old. As Professor Marshall puts it: "The new doctrines have supplemented the older—have extended, developed, sometimes corrected them, and often have given them a different tone by a new distribution of emphasis; but very seldom have subverted them."

No doubt the old economists had their defects. They were apt to take very narrow views and to overlook a good many things which ought to have found a place in their thoughts and to have modified their views. But this is a

fault which is apt to be displayed by earnest men. They concentrate their thought and energy upon one subject, or upon those aspects of a subject which appear to them to be of the greatest moment. Even with regard to man they did not take a sufficiently comprehensive view. They were liable to think that every man was like every other man, that there was no practical difference between the banker in the city and the workman in the factory; and they did not perhaps make sufficient allowance for the changes which are always taking place in the habits of the individual and the institutions of the nation. There was just a little too much rigidity about their system. On the whole, however, they did excellent work, and the main body of their teaching is so true and sound that it cannot be ignored without the most serious consequences to the nation. When so able and just a man as Professor Marshall chides the old economists for regarding labour "simply as a commodity, without throwing themselves into the point of view of the workman; without allowing for his human passions, his instincts and habits, his sympathies and antipathies, his class jealousies and class adhesiveness, his want of knowledge and of the opportunities for free and vigorous action," and further for attributing "to the forces of supply and demand a much more mechanical and regular action than they actually have," and furthermore that "they did not see that the poverty of the poor is the chief cause of that weakness and inefficiency which are the causes of their poverty"—one may well have serious misgivings as regards the developments of economical science in the near future. Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the old economists, these were not among them. They saw much more than their critics give them credit for; and at all events they treated economics in the true scientific spirit, without lachrymose sentimentalism, which is more than can be said for most of the economists of the new school.

The rehabilitation of the Old Political Economy is proceeding apace in spite of the violent attacks to which it is

ever and anon subjected by its assailants. Time is its most powerful champion; experience its best vindicator. On this point Professor Shield Nicholson says: "The so-called orthodox, or classical, Political Economy, so far from being dead, is in full vigour, and there is every sign of a marked reaction in favour of its principles and methods. The traditional English Political Economy has neither been banished to Saturn nor stifled by Socialism, and, in fact, it is stronger than ever. This renewed vigour is no doubt largely due to the attacks made upon it on all sides in increasing force for the last twenty years. The method practically adopted by Adam Smith and Ricardo, and reduced to scientific form by Mill and Cairnes, and quite recently and still more effectively by Dr. Keynes, must still be regarded as fundamental. . . . Signs are not wanting that the broader method of Adam Smith is gaining ground. The work of Mr. Seeböhm on the 'English Village Community' is a splendid example, worthy to be placed on a level with the best chapters of the 'Wealth of Nations;' and Dr. Cunningham throughout his excellent history has informed facts with principles. . . . Not only theoretically but practically signs of a reaction in favour of the old position are rapidly increasing. The experiments already made at playing the *role* of omniscience and omnipotence, against which Governments were so emphatically warned by Adam Smith, have begun to bring forth thorns instead of figs."* Opponents of the Old Political Economy will discover amid the battles that are coming upon us that it is very much alive; that it has a good deal to say for itself; and that it is capable of waging a stout warfare on behalf of its position.

The New Political Economy is misnamed. It is not the Political Economy in it which is new, but rather an emotion of sympathy, undefinable and unregulated, with the poorer

* Paper read before the British Association, September 15, 1893.

and more unfortunate classes of society. This sympathy, although it is supposed in some way to be an outgrowth of some higher development of economical knowledge, is really the product of altogether different causes and has nothing whatever to do with Political Economy properly understood. Professor Nicholson, in the paper already referred to, shows that "German idealists" and "English realists," by misapprehending the true nature of Political Economy, have endeavoured to extend its province beyond its legitimate frontiers, and have thus created a most pernicious influence both upon the science itself and upon the popular conception of it. No doubt it is the fact that there is a moral element in Political Economy, and that there is some truth in the charge of the moralists that the ethical aspects of the subject have been too much lost sight of by orthodox economists, who have too often overlooked the functions and the power of reason and will and conscience in the moral nature of man. The Duke of Argyll, in his trenchant and suggestive work, "*The Unseen Foundations of Society*," has vigorously exposed the shortcomings of Political Economy (which he regards as "a shattered science") in this respect. But if the economists have gone to one extreme, the Duke has gone to the other, and the former is by far the more preferable. John Stuart Mill says: "Except on matters of mere detail there are perhaps no practical questions even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economic questions, which admit of being decided on economic premises alone." Similarly Professor Cairnes says: "There are few practical problems which do not present other aspects than those purely economical—political, moral, educational, artistic aspects—and these may involve consequences so weighty as to turn the scale against purely economic solutions. On the relative importance of such conflicting considerations Political Economy offers no opinion, pronounces no judgment, thus standing neutral between competing social schemes. . . . It supplies the means, or, more correctly, a portion of the

means for estimating all; it refuses to identify itself with any. Now, I desire to call particular attention to this characteristic of economic science, because I do not think it is at all generally appreciated, and because some serious and indeed lamentable consequences have arisen from overlooking it. For example, it is sometimes supposed that because Political Economy comprises in its expositions theories of wages, profits, and rent, the science is therefore committed to the approval of our present mode of industrial life, under which three distinct classes, labourers, capitalists, and landlords, receive remuneration in those forms. Under this impression some social reformers, whose ideal system of industrial life involves a modification of our existing system, have thought themselves called upon to deride and denounce economic science, as forsooth seeking to stereotype the existing forms of life, and of course therefore opposed to their views. But this a complete mistake. Economic science has no more connexion with our present industrial system than the science of mechanics has with our present system of railways. Our existing railway lines have been laid down according to the best extant mechanical knowledge; but we do not think it necessary on that account, as a preliminary to improving our railways, to denounce mechanical science. If wages, profits, and rent find a place in economic theories, this is simply because these are forms which distribution assumes as society is now constituted. They are phenomena which need to be explained. But it comes equally within the province of the economist to exhibit the working of any proposed modification of this system, or to set forth the operation of the laws of production and distribution under such new conditions." All of which amounts simply to this: that Political Economy at various points impinges upon morals and general social science, with which however it has really nothing to do, just as other sciences overlap and entrench upon each other's domain; that Political Economy is in no sense responsible for the creation or the continued existence of the conditions.

which prevail as to the production and distribution of wealth, its function being merely to explain what it finds actually existing; and that it is therefore beyond its province to attempt to overthrow the present system of employing land and labour and capital in favour of another, which work must be left to the operation of the laws of morality and religion. If religion and morality can substitute for the present system something better, then Political Economy will have to explain that; but Political Economy, grounding itself upon generalisations from human experience in past ages and upon the broad facts of human nature, contends that no new system can effectually and permanently supplant the old.

Professor Nicholson further says: "One of the greatest merits of the orthodox economists was the careful distinction they drew between economic and other social sciences. They refused to merge it in the misty regions of general sociology, and they excluded from its borders the rocks and quicksands as well as the green pastures of ethics and religion. For a time, however, especially under German influences, attempts were made to break down these boundaries, and the economist was elevated to the position of universal philanthropist and general provider of panaceas. Mill himself was partly to blame for the excursions which he made into the applications of social philosophy to practice. It is to these excursions we are indebted for the fantastical notion of the unearned increment, and the curious idea that it is the duty of people to leave the bulk of their money to the State, or rather the duty of the State to take it.* Fortunately, however, for the progress of economics, this ideal of breadth without depth has not become dominant, and any force it had is already spent. The advances made in other social or less vaguely human sciences have been so great that the economist is obliged to

* So in Mill we find the germ of Sir W. Harcourt's recent iniquitous legislation on the Death Duties, etc.

exclude them from his domain. Still, to some extent the view prevails, especially in Germany, that it is the business of the economist to discover the general conditions of the social well-being, and to show how they may be realized. . . . According to the traditional English view, it is not the business of the economist to decide all the disputes that may arise even regarding fundamental questions in ethics, religion, fine art, education, public law, administration—to decide, in a word, the first duty of man and the last duty of Governments. His sphere is much more limited, and the limits have been indicated with tolerable precision by the classical English economists. Even in England, however, there has been a tendency in recent years to remove the old landmarks, not simply on the part of Socialists, but by those who in the main profess to accept the English traditions. Just as the German idealists think it is the business of the economist to discover the way to the perfectibility of the species, the English realists impose upon him the duty of finding the road to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In technical language

Political Economy is the economy of utility. No doubt, at first sight, this aim seems to be both definite and practical. From the old inquiry, 'How nations are made wealthy,' to the new inquiry, 'How nations are made happy,' it seems a natural and easy transition. For the essence of wealth is to possess utility, to satisfy desires, to create happiness. It is obvious also that the happiness of a people depends largely on its economic conditions in the narrowest sense of the term; it depends, that is to say, on the amount and distribution of its material wealth. Accordingly it seems plausible to maintain that the economist ought to discover by his calculus of utility those principles of production and distribution that will lead to most happiness. Plausible and natural, however, as this transition from wealth to happiness may seem, it may readily lead to the abandonment of the central position of the classical economists. Competition may be well enough for the strong, but is the destruction of

the poor and weak. Accordingly it seems easy to prove, or at least to presume, that great powers must be given to the State. It only remains to bring in the principle which Mill flattered himself was his chief contribution to economic theory—viz., that the distribution of wealth depends entirely on the opinions of mankind, that these opinions are indefinitely pliable, and that therefore no schemes of distribution can be called impracticable—and we arrive at a conclusion which is nothing less than State Socialism. Nothing could be more opposed to the traditional English Political Economy.”*

* *The Times*, commenting upon Professor Nicholson's address, said that his statement as to Mill's teaching was “rather an inference from Mill's writings than a charge which can be supported by direct reference and quotation.” Surely *The Times* writer had forgotten these sentences from Mill: “Unlike the laws of Production, those of Distribution are *partly* of human institution, since the manner in which wealth is distributed in any given society depends on the statutes or usages therein obtaining. . . . (*Preliminary Remarks*, last paragraph but one.) The Distribution of Wealth is a matter of human institution *solely*. (Book II, Chap. I, Sec. I. Note the change from “partly” to “solely.”) . . . In the social state, in every state except total solitude, any disposal whatever of wealth can only take place by the consent of society, or rather of those who dispose of its active force. Even what a person has produced by his individual toil, unaided by anyone, he cannot keep unless by the permission of society. Not only can society take it from him, but individuals could and would take it from him, if society only remained passive; if it did not either interfere *en masse*, or employ or pay people for the purpose of preventing him from being disturbed in his possession. *The distribution of wealth, therefore, depends upon the laws and customs of society. The rules by which it is determined are what the opinions and feelings of the ruling portion of the community make them, and are very different in different ages and countries; and might be still more different, if mankind so chose.*” Mr. J. H. Levy shows that Mill, by using “laws” in a strict and scientific sense in regard to Production and in a loose

One of the most marked effects of recent attempts to illegitimately widen the boundaries of economic science is a persistent endeavour, especially in times of industrial conflict, to substitute "public sympathy" (ignorant sentiment), or "political humanity" (partizan zeal), for Political Economy. Two notable efforts of this description took place in connection with the great dock strike in London in 1889, and the great coal strike in the North in 1893. In both these cases, and also in numerous smaller disputes, the strikers were encouraged by reiterated assurances that the sympathy of the public was with them, and by the ostentatious support of politicians who were, as everybody knew, seeking votes. Of course the results were to make the strikers obstinate; to increase their numbers by inducing men in other occupations to strike "in sympathy" with them (and also to get a little of the favourable wind into their own sails), and to spread lawlessness and disorder. Into the facts or the merits of the case the public never inquired. How could they? It was enough for them to know that dock labourers, workmen of the lowest class, were receiving the iniquitous wage of fivepence an hour, exactly double the wages of agricultural labourers, who are altogether a finer body of men. And whilst fivepence an hour was wickedly insufficient, sixpence an hour would be ample and satisfactory! How this could be nobody explained, for nobody knew. But that did not matter; for at

and general sense in regard to Distribution, has set up a contrast between Distribution and Production "which has no existence apart from equivocation;" that he did this because he was arguing for a *suppressed conclusion*, viz., that Government might interfere with the distribution of wealth but not with its production; and that he took the last step to the Socialistic goal when he embraced the extraordinary doctrine that wealth can be distributed at the caprice of the populace. It really is difficult to measure Mill's responsibility for the mischief which is now working in society.

such times knowledge and reason are thrown to the winds. In the case of the coal-miners, "political humanity" formulated the demand that wages must govern prices, and not prices wages, or in other words that labour must be paid at a certain rate even if what it produces has to be sold for less than the cost of its production.* (This was the very question at issue in connection with the Pullman strike at Chicago, which is dealt with in chapter eight). If "political humanity" could work that miracle it might indeed congratulate itself, and look down with more contempt than ever upon its hated foe—Political Economy. Evidently there are hosts of people among us who "hug the idea that there are snug corners in the universe of things where miracles can still be worked," and not a few of them believe that the coal-field of Great Britain is such a corner. When these strikes, about which the public "gushed" so much, were over, then the said public congratulated itself upon the extinction of the relentless and heartless laws of political economy and the substitution for them of loftier and kinder views on the relations of capital and labour. But the public will experience a rude awakening some day, and

* Sir Walter Foster, M.P., speaking at Heanor, on October 25th, 1893, during the coal strike, said: "He had no sympathy with the talk about supply and demand. The Old Political Economy was the science of selfishness. He preferred industrial humanity as formulated in the principle of a fair living wage; that should be the first charge on every enterprise, otherwise labour became slavery." He further "congratulated the miners on showing the highest form of courage—patient endurance for a principle—in spite of starvation. It was real heroism to be steadfast on an empty stomach. The pale, pinched faces of mothers and children were heart-breaking even to the visitor, much more to the fathers. Fortitude under such conditions reflected honour on Englishmen." So the new heroism is to starve your wife and children, or leave them to charity, in preference to doing honest work! This is the teaching of a member of the Government.

Political Economy will have its revenge ; for Nature always exacts penalties for the violation of her laws.*

Sympathy with the poorer classes of the community is a very amiable and praiseworthy quality ; but when it takes the form of aiding these poorer classes at the expense of other classes of society, it is seen to be a quality far less reputable and commendable. Much of the sympathy with the labouring classes of which we hear so much nowadays, is, when analysed, seen to be nothing more nor less than glaring injustice. Many of the so-called " reforms " which are so persistently advocated are simply so many methods of depriving the wealthier classes of that which indubitably belongs to them in order to give it to other classes who have no legal or even moral claim to it whatever. Flagrant unrighteousness, although it may be disguised for the time by a cloak of sympathy with the poor and miserable members of society, can never take any really firm hold of a justice-loving people. Let us sympathise with the poor by all means ; it is seemly and Christian so to do ; but let us not rob the rich in order to help the poor. For such help the poor will in the end be the worse and not the better. It is the interest of the poor man even more than of the rich man that every man shall be able to hold that which is his own against all the world. The old proverb says : " Do not steal a goose in order to give religion the giblets " ; and in a similar spirit we may say to the impulsive and shortsighted, as well as to the deliberately dishonest, among

* Certain individuals will have a rude awakening, too. As this is being written it is stated that Mr. Ben Tillett, who made the dock strike and was made by it, was driven from the platform a day or two ago by infuriated dock labourers. (On the same day Mr. Joseph Arch scolded the Norfolk labourers for deserting his Union and for keeping him without salary). Why ? The truth is beginning to be realised ; the laws of Political Economy are asserting themselves, and the lying pretensions of agitators are being found out.

modern "reformers"—"Do not pull down the fabric of society in order to give working men a few bits of old and rotten firewood."

We hear a good deal of jargon talked just now in certain quarters with regard to what is called the "new spirit" which is alleged to have entered into the old body of Political Economy. This "new spirit," however, when fairly looked in the face is seen to be one of the old ghosts which have been flitting about in the world for hundreds and even thousands of years. It is simply the spirit of envy, of greed, of class hatred; the spirit which teaches men that instead of helping themselves they should be helped by others; the spirit, which, although it pretends to promote liberty, equality, and fraternity, would really make liberty impossible, create grosser inequalities than any which now exist, and drive the brotherly temper from amongst the children of men. The less we have of this "new spirit" the better.

Those who undertake to teach us what Political Economy is, according to the new style, make the fundamental mistake of assuming that it is the office of Political Economy to teach morality and philanthropy. Really it is not the function of Political Economy to teach these things at all. Political Economy is a science quite as much as chemistry is, and its laws, so far as they are actually laws at all, are quite as true in their nature and as certain in their effects as the laws of chemistry themselves are. Economical laws are statements, or expressions, or embodiments of the effects which inevitably and universally follow from given lines or conduct amongst human beings; they are large generalisations as to the action of mankind in all ages and all circumstances; in other words they are facts which have been observed and recorded by economical inquirers and students. To rail at these laws as heartless is to argue profound ignorance as to their real character and purpose. The law of gravitation is heartless; so oftentimes are the laws which govern the tides and the weather; so are moral

laws. If a man violates or defies these laws they punish him, and they have no sympathy with him in his sufferings. So with regard to Political Economy. It simply declares to men that if they do such and such things, such and such results will follow; it does not say that they ought to do such and such things, or that they ought not to do them. That is beyond its province. Sympathy with the poor, and active efforts to ameliorate the condition of the poor, have their own proper sphere, and their appropriate modes of expression; but these lie within the region of morals and religion, far away from the domain of Political Economy. Many of the most insidious and pernicious errors of our times arise from the intermingling of morals and economics on the part of those who are too ignorant to discriminate betwixt the two. They chide Political Economy for not doing what it cannot do, what it never pretends to do, and what it could not attempt to do without ceasing to operate scientifically; and on the other hand they endeavour to force morality to perform the functions of Political Economy, which is in the nature of things impossible. Morality is one thing; economics is another. They deal with different motives; they rule over distinct spheres; and they perform totally different functions. Each must do its own peculiar work if the work they do is to be effective, although they will naturally supplement, and co-operate with, each other. Professor Marshall says:—"It is not the functions of a science to lay down practical precepts or to prescribe rules of life. The laws of economics, as of other sciences, are couched in the indicative and not in the imperative mood; they are statements as to the effects produced by different causes, single or in combination; they are not rules ready for immediate application in practical politics." Herein is a truth which needs constantly to be borne in mind. The laws of economics are no more moral precepts than are the laws of chemistry. The functions of science and of religion are absolutely distinct. It is the function of religion "to lay down practical precepts and to prescribe rules of life";

it is not the function of a science to do these things. Political Economy is no exception. Consequently it is no reproach to it that it does not do what it never professes to be able to do, and what it could not do if it tried—namely, to regulate the moral conduct of men with regard to one another. The new economists fall into the error of confounding economics with morals, and the error is as mischievous as it is irrational. This error vitiates the reasonings of the new economists upon almost every point. One of them informs us that the first principle of the new economists is “that Political Economy is not the science of wealth, but the science of man in relation to wealth.” Well, even if this were true, it is not very new, for something of the same kind was said by Malthus, and Roscher said more than thirty years ago :—“The starting point and the object point of our science is man.” This is very plausible, but it is also very fallacious. Of course it is true that Political Economy does in one sense deal with man ; but it is also true that it deals with man rather as an animal than as a moral being. It relates almost exclusively to the secular affairs and the secular interests of man, and consequently it has most to do with those motives by which man is actuated in his business and in his commercial pursuits, and these motives are in the main selfish motives. With the higher part of man, his moral nature—that is his religion, his devotions, his aspirations towards purity and Godliness—Political Economy has nothing to do. It may be true, and of course it is true, that man ought not to act exclusively with regard to his own self-interest, or to be selfish, and religion teaches him to be unselfish. But Political Economy deals with man as he is, and not as he ought to be. It finds that man is, as a matter of fact, in the main a selfish being, and that he will usually act, particularly as regards his daily pursuits, from selfish motives. It observes how men do act, and it states the results of its observations. This is the extent of its functions. To expect that Political Economy will ever

make human beings unselfish is a vain dream. One of the new economists writes in this strain : “ We say that the old individualistic conception of the business man as a selfish being, making the most he can out of the public, and giving them as little as he can, is out of date at a time when the old Christian conception of the solidarity of the human race is coming into prominence again—if not from the side of Christianity, most certainly from all the substitutes proposed for it. The old production, for instance, was production for profit. It was said that the expectation of profit would lead to the cheapest and best production. We now see that there are two things which the working life must produce—good commodities and good men. The production for profit ignored the latter of these, and must give place to a higher idea.” This is from a Professor of Political Economy, and it is a good example of the confusion of thought which has been already referred to. What has “ the old Christian conception of the solidarity of the human race ” to do with economics ? How can the working life produce “ good ” men—that is, good in the sense of being unselfish, self-sacrificing, pure-minded, and godly ? What reproach is it “ to production for profit ” that it does not strive to make men themselves good ? By what means could it endeavour to do this, even supposing that it could feel the desire to do it ? And will Political Economy, or even Christianity itself, ever evolve a class of men who will produce except for profit, a class of men who will not be selfish in the sense that they will do the best they can for themselves by their work or their business ? If the new Political Economy can give the world a class of human beings who will work, and work at their best, from purely benevolent motives, that is with the sole purpose of doing good to others than those who do the work, then it will succeed in doing what no system of morals or religion has ever done in the history of the world. But, of course, the idea that this can ever be done is the merest chimera.

The New Economy is vitally at fault as regards its view of human nature. It is much too apt to regard man merely as a product of circumstances, in other words, to degrade man's nature by taking a low materialistic view of it, thus repeating in another form the very fault with which it charges the Old Economy, viz., that it does not take a proper estimate of the nature of man. We are told that "while the earlier economists argued as though man's character and efficiency were to be regarded as a fixed quantity, modern economists keep constantly in mind the fact that it is a product of the circumstances under which he has lived," and that "this change in the point of view of economics is partly due to the fact that the changes in human nature during the last fifty years have been so rapid as to force themselves on the attention." This is surely a curious discovery. Moralists, at all events, do not know anything of these "changes in human nature" which have occurred during the last half century; they find human nature to be what it was. Surely the earlier economists were the wiser in their view. Human nature, as to its essentials, is a fixed quantity. In all substantial respects the modern man resembles the primitive man. A study of ancient history, and more particularly of the Bible, is sufficient to prove this. It may be true that "Economics is getting to pay every year a greater attention to the pliability of human nature, and to the way in which the character of man affects and is affected by the prevalent methods of the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth," and that "the human as distinguished from the mechanical is taking a more and more prominent place in economics." Within certain limits all this is legitimate enough; but the New Economy is too apt to overstep those limits and to assume that it can succeed in doing what even Christianity has failed to do. It is quite certain that any system which regards and treats man as a mere "product of the circumstances under which he has lived" is foredoomed to failure.

The New Economy talks a good deal of cant about the evils of competition, and the necessity of abolishing the competitive system before the poor man can ever get a fair chance. One of its Professors writes thus : " What we say is that since the Old Political Economy was written, a new force has come into the world that has made much of the competition of business life not free as between man and man ; that is the enormous and cumulative power of large capitals. Poverty is the heavy handicap of the worker ; but in any fair or free game, where competition benefits both sides as it should, it is only the weaker side that carries the handicap. . . . In the commercial battle ground, wealth has made men unequal ; it has, indeed, given the battle to the strong, but the strong economic man is the rich man." It is sufficient answer to all this to point to one significant fact, and that is that the majority of the large capitalists of to-day were either themselves once working men, or they are the sons of fathers who were working men. In the face of such a fact as this how is it possible for any common-sense man to believe that a working man is unfairly handicapped ? Adversity is favourable to the development of those qualities which ensure success in commercial life, while luxury is fatal to such qualities. Looked at from the moral, rather than from the economic point of view, the working man, provided he be intelligent, industrious, sober, and ambitious, is seen to have really a better chance in many respects than the rich man. As to the idea that the competitive system has made men harder and more selfish than they were formerly, Professor Marshall has exploded that notion altogether. He shows that men are not more selfish, but really more unselfish, than they used to be, and in support of the assertion he points to the higher standard of honour and honesty which now prevails amongst business men, to the greater strength and intensity of the domestic affections as exhibited in family life, and to the deliberate unselfishness with regard even to strangers which is a product and a characteristic of modern times. He says :

“It is true that there is less deliberate selfishness in early than in modern forms of industry, but there is also less deliberate unselfishness. It is the deliberateness and not the selfishness that is the characteristic of the modern age.” And he reminds us that “the country which is the birth-place of modern competition devotes a larger part of its income than any other to charitable uses, and spent twenty millions on purchasing the freedom of the slaves in the West Indies.” Professor Marshall further shows that competition is only another name for some of the most vigorous and valuable qualities of character, such as self-reliance, independence, forethought, and a deliberate choice; and that although those qualities may cause people to compete with one another, they may also induce them to co-operate with each other, and that their tendency at present is more in the direction of co-operation than of competition. It is obvious, therefore, that to abolish what is called the competitive system would be to stamp out the higher qualities of manhood. Happily, it is not so easy to do this as some of the new economists appear to believe it to be.

Another of the clap-trap phrases of the New Economy is “the abolition of poverty.” The followers of Henry George especially constantly have this phrase upon their lips. People of this class omit from their view, perhaps it would be more correct to say that they deliberately exclude from their view, all those forms of poverty which are due to the conduct of the individual who suffers from poverty. They are continually railing against the constitution and the institutions of society as being the most prolific causes of the wretchedness which prevails among the poor. Although a man may refuse to work and spend his life in idleness; although he may work and spend most of his wages in drink; although he may be incompetent and suffer from ill-health, and in consequence of one or more of these conditions may be reduced to poverty, the blame is never laid upon himself by these new “reformers,” but is always thrown

upon the shoulders of society. It is an acknowledged fact that by far the greater portion of the poverty which prevails among the working classes is due to their own intemperance, improvidence, laziness, incompetence, or recklessness; yet these people are taught that not they themselves, but the land laws, or the capitalistic usages of society, are the causes of their poverty. Such teaching is pernicious in every sense. Its effect is to prevent reformation in the individuals who most need to be reformed, and at the same time to create revolutionary discontent in the minds of the common people. It is a singular anomaly that while the new economists wish at many points to drag morality into their economics, yet at this particular point they ignore moral considerations altogether, and persist in fixing their eyes simply upon social or political aspects of the question. Even Professor Marshall seems to write as if it were a reproach to society that poverty should exist. He says: "We are setting ourselves seriously to enquire whether it is necessary that there should be any so-called lower classes at all; that is whether there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for others the requisites of a refined and cultured life; while they themselves are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any share or part in that life." He contemplates a time when "poverty and ignorance may be gradually extinguished," and when "all should start in the world with a fair chance of leading a cultured life, free from the pain of poverty and the stagnating influences of excessive mechanical toil," and he thinks that the progress which has been made by the working classes during the present century affords good hope that such a golden age may one day arrive. The view appears to be an unduly sanguine one. It is not probable that any modern nation will ever improve upon the Jewish Theocracy as regards social legislation and the treatment of the poor; but even among the Jews poverty existed. Indeed, it is conceivable that a nation might be morally and spiritually the poorer

if no poverty existed in its midst. That question, however, lies outside of our present subject.

Another "note" of the New Economy is that it is semi-Socialistic. It regards the Socialists and their teachings with much favour; it hankers after collectivism in everything. This tendency has been most marked among the new school of German economists, perhaps because the founders of modern Socialism, Lassalle and Karl Marx, were German Jews, and because by their enthusiasm and ability they were able to make some impression even upon the stolid German mind. The same tendencies have now manifested themselves strongly in this country. The old English economists regarded man chiefly as an individual, and dealt with the motives of individual action; they paid little attention to the action of men in their collective capacity, or of communities. The new economists are rushing to the other extreme. The hottest part of the battle between the old economy and the new will be fought at this point; the great and decisive question will be whether Individualism or Socialism is to prevail. That is the main issue. Professor Marshall has some striking sentences upon this point. He says: "German thought has also given an impetus to the study of Socialism and the functions of the State. It is from German writers, chiefly of Jewish origin, that the world has received the greater part of the most thorough-going of recent propositions for utilising the property of the world for the benefit of the community with but little reference to the existing incidents of ownership. Besides the revolutionary Socialists, there is a large body of thinkers in Germany who are setting themselves to insist on the scantiness of the authority which the institution of private property in its present form can derive from history; and to urge on broad scientific and philosophic grounds a reconsideration of the rights of society as against the individual."

Much more might of course be said with regard to the special economic problems which are now coming up for solution in this country, and with regard to the attitude which

the New Political Economy is assuming towards them. But space will not suffice for the elaboration of these points. There is one caution, however, which it may be well to inculcate : it is that Political Economy, whether it be old or new, is to some extent imperfect. Political Economy, without common-sense to guide and check it, may run into the most absurd nonsense. Even Professor Marshall, one of the most brilliant exponents of the science, admits that of itself it is insufficient. He says : " There is so much variety in economic problems, economical causes are intermingled with others in so many different ways that exact scientific reasoning will seldom bring us all the way to the conclusion for which we are seeking. It would be foolish on this account to reject its aid so far as it will reach, but something must be left at the end to be done by practical instinct and trained common-sense. . . . In every practical problem it is common-sense that is the ultimate arbiter." What the new economists are mainly deficient in is common-sense. That is a defect which it is very difficult to cure. An old Welsh preacher was accustomed to say it was no disadvantage to men to be born without grace simply because they could always obtain it, but if they were born without common-sense the loss was a permanent one, inasmuch as they never could obtain that. So in like manner we may say that in the discussion and treatment of these practical work-a-day matters old-fashioned common-sense is infinitely to be preferred to the phantasms and transcendentalisms of the new "economists." These gentlemen profess to be anxious to better the condition of the people generally. Good. But how do they propose to do it? By robbing one class to benefit others, by which means they would create insecurity, check production, and destroy capital. So that on their theory the less wealth there is in the country the better off the people will be! Common-sense says that the more capital there is in the country the better it will be for every citizen ; that the more the increase of capital is hindered the worse it will be for every citizen ; and that the true method of elevating working

men, the wise course of material progress, is to make as many workmen as possible capitalists. Again: these wise-aces say that labour—labour alone—creates wealth. It logically follows from this that if there is not wealth enough it is because there is not labour enough, or because what does exist is inefficient. Nevertheless, they would diminish the quantity of labour by an eight hours' day, and deteriorate its quality by rewarding inefficiency on the same scale as efficiency. Common-sense would dictate that if labour produces wealth, and produces it in the direct ratio of efficiency, then the most efficient producers, viz., the capitalist and the capable workman, ought to be encouraged in every possible way. But economical quacks, instead of taking this rational view, strive in every way to level the good workman down to the level of the bad one and to harass the capitalist out of existence altogether. A strong whiff of common-sense sent through the theories of these fanatics blows them to fragments.* The new economists

* “It is in the interests of the poor that we fight against Socialism. Our reason for believing that Socialism means a hell on earth for the poor is, at any rate, one which can be stated in a dozen words, and one which can be understood by plain men and women, and that is a good deal more than can be said for the Fabian Essays. Our reason is this. What is wanted to abolish poverty and material misery is more good houses, more food, more clothes, more tea, more tobacco, more knowledge, more hope, more faith—more, in a word, of all the things man desires. Whatever system, then, produces most of these things is the best, for it will give more to go round. We believe not only that the system of Free Trade and free enterprise, of individualism and independence, will produce far more than the Socialistic system, but that the system of municipalisation would reduce production to starvation point, and leave little or nothing to go round. We may be right, or we may be wrong; but, at any rate, we Free Traders hold this view. But this being so, we should fail in our duty to our fellows if we did not oppose the Socialists at every point.”—*The Spectator*, July 29, 1893.

have plenty of ability, plenty of enthusiasm, plenty of courage; but they are alarmingly deficient in common-sense. Happily the English people are staid, practical, and sensible, and there is good hope that their common-sense will save them from the economic, social, and political dangers which now threaten them, although they know very little about the Science of Political Economy.

BOOK IV.

THE TRUE SOLUTION OF
LABOUR PROBLEMS, ECONOMICAL AND
MORAL; OR THE WISDOM OF
PROFITING BY PAST EXPERIENCE.

“And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. . . . Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the prophets.”

—*Jesus Christ.*

“He that loveth another hath fulfilled the Law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the Law. . . . Servants, be obedient to them that are masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with Him.”

—*The Apostle Paul.*

CHAPTER I.

INDIVIDUALISM THE TRUE ANTIDOTE TO SOCIALISM.

INDIVIDUALISM may be defined as that condition of things under which the individual is free to develop his individuality, or to make the best of his own faculties, whether they be innate or acquired: in other words, under which the individual is left in full and undisturbed enjoyment of the rights and liberties which belong to him in virtue of his manhood and of his *status* as a citizen of a civilised community; under which he can exercise, develop, and profit by, the gifts, faculties, talents with which he has been endowed by God, or which he may have acquired by study and labour; under which the only restraint imposed upon his liberty by the State is the prohibition that he shall not interfere with the freedom or the rights of others, which is obviously necessary to secure the fullest possible measure of liberty to each and to all. Generally, Individualism is a condition of personal liberty and of personal ownership, as opposed to a condition of slavery in which a person is owned by others. Socialism is the exact antithesis of all this. It is that condition under which individuality is suppressed; under which the individual is deprived of the rights and liberties which belong to him in virtue of his manhood and of his *status* as a citizen of a civilised community; under which he *cannot* exercise, develop, or profit by, the gifts, faculties, talents with which he has been endowed by God, or which he may have acquired by study and labour; under which all that he earns or produces is appropriated, and distributed for the general good, that is to say confiscated, by the State, which, by taking what he makes really takes what he is. Generally, Socialism is a

condition of slavery as opposed to a state of liberty, in which a man is owned and governed not by himself but by others, and in which personal proprietorship, either of his personality or of his productions, is denied him. Individualism is in harmony with the principles of human nature, with the laws of God, and with the experience of mankind from the earliest ages until now ; and it is therefore moral, righteous, excellent, and worthy of being maintained and encouraged. Socialism violates the laws of God and is in antagonism with the nature of man, and is pronounced both by the reason and experience of mankind to be immoral, unjust, and debasing, and is therefore unworthy of approval or acceptance.

From the form of expression used in the title of this chapter, the reader will probably infer that Socialism, in the view of the writer, is a poisonous virus in the body politic, and that the only antidote which can effectually counteract its effects is Individualism. This inference would be a correct one. It remains for the writer to justify his position.

It has previously been pointed out in this work that we have to do with Socialism and Socialism ; that certain forms of Government interference or action which are loosely called Socialism, such as the administration of the Post Office, the Education Acts, and the Poor Law, the inspection of factories, &c., are neither, in the fundamental sense of the term, Socialistic nor inconsistent with individual liberty ; that indeed the interference of the Government up to a certain point is necessary to originate and to sustain the liberty of the individual properly understood. Even Individualism is not Anarchism. Wherever a civilised Government or a true social order exists there must of necessity be a certain degree of control exercised by that Government ; in other words the community as a whole delegates to the Government certain powers which are to be used for the good of the community as a whole. Any member of the community who wishes to act in a manner which would be injurious to other members of the com-

munity will discover that a check will be put upon his action by the Government, the function of which is to prevent any one individual exceeding his rights and thus to preserve the rights of every individual. The action of the Government for these ends, or in other words the collective action of the community in its own interests, although it is of course Socialistic in a certain sense, is not Socialistic in any such sense as is attributed to the term by Socialists as a class. Such Socialism is not only not incompatible with Individualism, but is essential to its existence and development. Individualism implies the collective action of society for the purpose of preserving the life and the liberty, and protecting the property, of each individual member of the community. The point has been put thus: "If we are suffering from a poison we find it advantageous to take a second poison, which acts as an antidote to the first. But, if we are wise, we limit our dose of the second poison so that the toxic effects of both combined are at the minimum. If we take more of it it produces toxic effects of its own beyond those necessary to counteract, so far as possible, the first poison. If we take less of it the first poison, to some extent, will do its bad work unchecked. This illustrates the position of the Individualist against the Socialist on the one side and the Anarchist on the other." Such action or interference on the part of the State as is necessary in order to develop and sustain the freedom of each individual at the fullest and highest point attainable is not Socialistic in any harmful sense.

Of a very different character, however, is Socialism as the antithesis of Individualism. This is not the mere Collectivism which has been referred to as the undertaking of such functions by the State as cannot be so easily, speedily, or efficiently performed by individual enterprise as by State action. Socialism in this sense is that form of social order which would make everything public property, capital as well as land; houses, and even food and clothing, as well as railways; and which would therefore make private property

in anything whatsoever impossible; under which the work of producing and distributing all commodities would be performed directly and actively by the State, which consequently would suppress the motives which impel men to put forth their utmost efforts, and make the largest sacrifices to obtain their ends, the motives which are self-regarding, and which would of necessity diminish, and ultimately destroy, production and accumulation of capital and labour, because it would produce a race of men who would do no more than was barely necessary to keep body and soul together. This is the Socialism of which we are speaking. This kind of Socialism would be as destructive to the inherent capacities of manhood as to material possessions. Personality is inseparably intertwined with liberty and property; personal rights are bound up with political rights. We are too apt to confine our view to the effects which Socialism would produce in relation to property; too apt to overlook the effects which it would equally produce upon manhood. The fact is manhood and property are so connected that you cannot injure one without injuring the other. The right of property is the right of every man in that which he produces or that which he has legitimately received from those who did produce it. But the right of property is equally a right of liberty, for to deprive a man of that which he has been enabled to produce by his own powers, is virtually to deprive him of those very powers, or in other words to reduce him to the position of a slave, and to degrade a man to this position is to denude him of his inherent rights as a man. His liberty is an attribute of his manhood, and his property is that which he has produced by the exercise of his liberty. Rights of property are therefore personal rights. John Stuart Mill, the most Socialistic of our leading political economists, and the one political economist who is most responsible for the growth of Socialism, says: "The institution of property, when limited to its essential elements, consists in the recognition, in each person, of the right to the exclusive disposal of what he or she have

produced by their own exertions, or received either by gifts or fair agreement, without force or fraud, from those who produced it. The foundation of the whole is the right of producers to what they themselves have produced." Again he says: "Nothing is implied in property but the right of each to his or her own faculties, to what he can produce by them, and to whatever he can get for them in a fair market, together with his right to give these to any other person if he chooses, and the right of that other person to receive and enjoy it." So that even Mill admits that rights of person create rights of property, and that to violate property is to violate manhood by subjecting the individual whose rights are violated to a state of bondage.*

Now it is the cardinal sin of Socialism that it wantonly assaults, and endeavours to destroy, the highest right of man—his supreme dominion over himself; the noblest power with which he has been endowed by his Maker; the right which is of all others most sacred and fundamental. It may be thought that this is a heavy accusation to bring against Socialism, and that it would be difficult to prove it to be true. Let us, therefore, listen to one or two of the lights of Socialism. Mr. Sydney Webb says:—"The Socialists would nationalise both rent and interest by the State becoming the sole landowner and capitalist. Such an arrangement would, however, leave untouched the third monopoly, the largest of them all, the monopoly of business ability The more recent Socialists strike,

* It is a most suggestive fact that the words "capital" and "cattle" are etymologically identical. All money was at first "live money" in the shape of live stock, animal or human. The significance of this is, not only that it shows that Agriculture is the original source of all wealth and employment, but also that it indicates how direct and intimate was the connection of the person of the owner with his possessions. Capital was the number of head of cattle that a man owned; the amount of his flocks and herds. Capital, which means stock generally, is derived from the Latin "Capita," or heads of flocks and herds, beasts. "Chatels," the law term for furniture, &c., comes from cattle.

therefore, at this monopoly also, by allotting to every worker an equal wage, whatever the nature of his work. This equality has an abstract justification, as the special ability or energy with which some persons are born is an unearned increment due to the influence of the struggle for existence upon their ancestors, and consequently, having been produced by society, is as much due to society as the unearned increment of rent." Mr. Sydney Oliviere, who is or was secretary of the Fabian Society, says:—"The ultimate refuge of the Individualist, the right of a man over his own body and capacities, is itself a large assumption, not necessarily admitted by Socialists." A Socialistic Congress, held at St. Gallen in 1888, passed a resolution which declared that "The Anarchistic theory of society, in so far as it aims at the autonomy of the individual, is anti-Socialistic." The plain English of all this is that Socialism would deprive a man even of the right "over his own body and capacities," that a man's abilities are not to be recognised as belonging to him, but as belonging to society; and that consequently he would have no right under a Socialistic system to use those abilities for himself, and that they would be appropriated by the State, and the results produced by them divided by the society in general. Mr. Sydney Webb speaks of "monopolies of land, capital, and ability," and of all these monopolies levying toll upon labour. It would therefore seem that it is almost as great a sin in the eyes of the Socialists to be possessed of genius or extraordinary talent as it is to be a millionaire. It is difficult to form a conception of the mental condition of persons who can speak of a man as a monopolist simply because he possesses what he has obtained by the use of his own faculties, and who can represent him as levying toll upon labour in his capacity as a monopolist simply because he owns what he has himself made.*

* Of course Socialists do not themselves act upon their absurd principles. At the Social Democratic Congress held in Germany, in November, 1892, Herr Liebknecht, editor of the chief organ of German Socialism, the *Vorwärts*, was

We must come to close quarters with this Socialistic theory that special ability, or talent, or genius, or even energy, belongs, not to the individual who may possess it, but to the society which produced him, and is therefore in the nature of "an unearned increment" which belongs, with all that it may yield, to society. It may be freely admitted that the Socialists have quite as strong a case against the rent of ability as they have against the rent of land or against the profits of capital, which is not saying much. They place all three on the same footing, and they demand that the State should appropriate them all on the common ground that individuals have no right to possess property in them.

Let us see what this involves. Madame Patti receives £800 per night for singing, whilst another singer receives only a guinea. Sir Charles Russell or Sir Richard Webster are paid at the rate of, say four hundred guineas per day, whilst other barristers have to be content with very little over four hundred pence. Sir John Millais, or Sir Frederick Leighton, paints a picture which readily finds a purchaser at five thousand pounds, whilst other artists are unable to sell their pictures, and very good pictures too, at fifty pounds. An eminent financier like Rothschild may make hundreds of thousands of pounds in a single day, and an immense establishment like Maple's may take a hundred thousand pounds in a day for goods sold (which has, we are informed, actually been the case), whilst petty stockbrokers and shop-

declared by some of the advocates of equality to be drawing too large a salary, £350 a year (equal to almost double the amount in England). Liebknecht vigorously defended his position, declaring "that intellectual property could not be subjected to the same modes of valuation as material property, and that he would consider himself guilty of a crime against his own children, whom he was bound to equip for the battle of life, if he accepted a lower rate of remuneration for his labours." This was manly, but not logical; it was human nature, but not Socialism.

keepers can with difficulty subsist. Now the Socialist contention is that eminent singers and musicians, artists and authors, lawyers and merchants, whose abilities or popularity command large payment, ought to be deprived of all they earn, the value of all that they have produced being thrown into the common treasury, out of which in return they are to receive precisely the same subsistence as is given to the most incompetent members of their several professions. Absolute equality of reward is to go hand in hand with the most varied inequality of merit. Every worker is to have "an equal wage, whatever the nature of his work." This is simply the notion of Proudhon that the day's work of any one man is equal to the day's work of any other. And the basis of this idea is that A, who earns a large income and accumulates wealth by the judicious and diligent employment of eminent abilities, is a monopolist of talent, and that the surplus of his earnings is a toll on B. Mr. Sydney Webb refers to something which he calls "the toll levied upon labour by the monopolists of land, capital, and ability." So that not only the land-owner and the money-owner, but also the talent-owner, is plundering and battenning upon labour! All are alike thieves; and all alike are to be forced to yield up their ill-gotten possessions to the community!

Of course the foundation of this notion is as false as the notion itself is preposterous. It is absolutely untrue that a man who makes a large income or accumulates a great fortune by the exercise of his ability is doing any injustice to anyone or that he is taking what belongs of right to someone else. What he is paid for his services by those who desire and value them is absolutely his own, with which, so far as law or public opinion are concerned, he can do as he likes. If Patti receives eight hundred pounds a night and Sir Richard Webster four hundred guineas a day; if an author receives ten thousand pounds for the MS. of a novel, and a painter five thousand for a picture; these sums are paid to them voluntarily by people who appreciate

their qualities and who prefer to pay heavily for superior excellence. Who is harmed by it all? Nobody—but a number of curmudgeons and mediocrities who are racked by tortures of envy. But it is well that those who are disposed to play with Socialism should realise the significance of the dangerous contention that every person of exceptional ability is to be defrauded and penalised.

What would be the effect if the Socialistic method of valuing intellectual property and of distributing its results could be put into practice? Simply this, that there would very soon be no superior ability, extraordinary talent, or exceptional energy left to tax. Mediocrity, stagnation, barrenness, would everywhere prevail. Equality of remuneration would produce a dead level of monotony in the quality of labour. The Socialistic appropriation of “the rent of ability” would kill the ability itself and would dry up the springs of energy. Great artists would cease to paint, and great authors to write; popular singers and actors would refuse to put up with the manifold inconveniences of travel, and popular lawyers would no longer burn the midnight oil to get up their cases; eminent merchants and bankers would leave the anxiety and labour of making money to others; if they were severally no longer to enjoy what they had earned.

Of course such a system of treating intellectual workers would prove fatal to art, science, and literature; but as Socialists profess to desire to return to the savage state, where none of these higher refinements or enjoyments are known or prized, this would not much matter to them. But it would matter to other people. Amid all the mists of sentiment which have been raised around this subject one solid fact remains, and that is that books have been written, poetry and music composed, pictures painted, buildings designed, great engineering works carried out, and great commercial enterprises conceived and achieved, chiefly by men and women who were working for bread and cheese, or for fame, or for position: that is to say their motives were

self-regarding, and their objects more or less personal. Take away those motives, make it impossible for those ends to be attained, and the work will not be done. Fabian fools may indite sentimental and transcendental nonsense about "the desire to excel, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence," and other such trash; but none of these longings or instincts will avail anything when you have once assured a man that you mean to rob him of his earnings. He will then simply refuse to work, and he will gladly resign the joy of creating things for which he is not to be paid to others. Egotism, not altruism, supplies the main motive power which drives the world along, not only in the lower realms of commerce, where material wealth is chiefly concerned, but also in those higher regions where intellectual workmen conceive and execute their great designs. Man is so constituted that self-love is the dominant motive of his nature. The great command of Christ recognises this when it bids him love his neighbour *as* himself, not less than himself or more, but equally with himself. Socialists in their infatuation imagine that they can improve upon the teaching of Christ, and compel man to love his neighbour *better* than himself. Even his Maker does not make such a demand upon him as that.

If, therefore, Socialists could carry out their preposterous doctrine and confiscate "the rent of ability," they would simply succeed in "killing the goose that lays the golden eggs." That is an operation which has been performed many times before by silly people, and the only qualification needed for performing it successfully is stupidity, which Socialists possess in a perfectly phenomenal degree. Society owes everything to men of genius and of exceptional talent, and whatever tends to deter such men from putting forth their best powers, is detrimental to the highest interests of the community. Wealth, that is articles of utility and value, is produced, not by the dull mechanical manual labour of the many, but by the bright, keen, ingenious intellect of

the few. The poor man among us to-day possesses more real wealth than the rich man did five hundred years ago. To whom is that due? Not to the effort or toil of the poor as a class, but to the original genius of a few specially-gifted men. Thinkers, inventors, organisers, designers; men of brains, capacity, and perception; these are the men who produce wealth, and thereby spread comfort and happiness throughout the land, making the lives of even the very lowest brighter and fuller than they have ever been before.

Lord Bacon has wisely said that "the empire of man over material things has for its only foundation the sciences and arts;" which is but another way of saying that man's dominion over nature has been won, and is now held, by the mental energies of the greatest intellects of the race. We cannot perform the commonest actions of life, nor receive into our houses the cheapest commodities, without being indebted to the men of thought who have gone before us. Some genius discovered how to leaven bread, and in consequence every good housewife is a chemist to the extent that she understands that branch of chemistry. What must have been the discomforts and tortures of mankind before light bread could be procured? Who can calculate the immense value of the advantages which have been conferred upon the human race in the shape of increased health and happiness by the unknown discoverer of the art of leavening bread? Some other unknown genius invented the mariner's compass, and then a subsequent investigator discovered magnetism, and the application of magnetism to the compass has changed the face of the world. Before the mariner's compass was known long voyages were impossible; even afterwards, while the power of magnetism was unknown, such voyages were extremely hazardous. It is difficult for us to imagine a time when ships scarcely dared to leave the shore; but such a time there was. In Anglo-Saxon times a merchant who crossed the sea three times in his own craft became merely by virtue of that act a nobleman. The science of astronomy and the art of navigation would appear

to an ignorant man to have no relation whatever; yet they are so intimately related that without a knowledge of the former the latter would be impossible. A seaman, taking advantage of the principles brought to light by great mathematicians, is able to calculate his whereabouts on the wide ocean, though he may not have seen land for three months. What is the result of this? That the mariner has changed uncertainty for certainty, and has now no more dread of crossing the ocean than a landsman has of crossing a street. The sea has been mapped out until every vessel knows its track, and its times of arrival and departure can be stated almost as accurately as could those of a stage coach. Sir W. Herschell, illustrating the accuracy of the lunar observations of the mariner, mentions that Captain Basil Hall, without a single landmark during eighty-nine days, steered his ship into Rio harbour as straight as a coachman could drive a carriage into the yard of an inn. Out of this certainty in navigation, has sprung the whole of our shipping trade, through which we receive so many of our commodities. There is scarcely a house in the land, even among the humblest cottages, which does not contain some articles of utility which have come across the seas—tea, sugar, spices, fruits, clothing, provisions, etc., none of which could have been there but for navigation, and navigation could not have existed but for the mariner's compass. Hume has said: "We cannot reasonably expect that a piece of woollen cloth will be wrought to perfection in a nation which is ignorant of astronomy, or where ethics are neglected." What he meant was obviously this: that a people who do not study the arts and sciences, and endeavour to act in harmony with fundamental moral laws, can never become a great manufacturing nation. Equally true is it that they could not become great in agriculture, which also is manufacturing, and requires the aid of science to bring it to perfection. A modern farmer, to be successful, ought to understand chemistry, botany, natural history, etc. Thus are the theoretical and the practical, the real and the ideal,

interwoven in our common daily life ; thus does production depend upon invention and thought.

But this is not all. Still greater results have flowed from the action of astronomy and navigation in bringing together the uttermost ends of the earth. It has been shown that if the mariner's compass had not been invented, America could not have been discovered ; that if America, and the passage by the Cape had not been discovered, cotton could not have been brought to England. If cotton had not been brought to England we should of course have been without a very important part of our clothing ; our great cotton industry could not have existed, and the millions of people employed in it could have found no work in this country ; Lancashire would have been a purely agricultural county, and the British nation would have been poorer by hundreds of millions of pounds.

Again : the cotton industry has been made what it is to-day mainly by the genius and ability of a few men. For long after cotton was brought to this country the production of cotton goods was very meagre owing to defective machinery and imperfect processes of manufacture. One or two inventors changed all that. Richard Arkwright, a Preston barber, invented the spinning jenny. The effect of that one invention is that the cotton industry employs two millions of people instead of fifty thousand ; that cotton, and therefore cotton goods, can be procured at about one-twentieth part of the former price ; and that the annual value of the produce has risen from two hundred thousand pounds to scores of millions of pounds per annum. Through Arkwright's mental labours therefore no less than one million nine hundred and fifty thousand persons have directly received employment and subsistence ; millions more have been indirectly benefited by having cheap clothing brought within their reach, thus increasing their cleanliness and comfort ; whilst thousands of manufacturers have made large fortunes ; and of course the nation generally has received all the advantages of this increase of pro-

duction, diffusion of wealth, and cheapening of the necessities, comforts, and conveniences of civilised life. Men like Arkwright deserve to be honoured by monuments of gold; Socialism would plunder and degrade them.

Arkwright's invention has indirectly affected the woollen industry also, and to that extent the beneficent effects of his work exceed the results given above. Another inventor to whom the woollen trade owes a great debt of gratitude is Lord Masham—formerly Mr. C. Cunliffe Lister, of Bradford—who has invented machinery which enables the British manufacturer to produce silken and woollen fabrics which for beauty and utility cannot be excelled anywhere in the world. Yet Lord Masham has been attacked in the most virulent manner by Radical-Socialist-Labour demagogues. They reproach him with being a millionaire. If such a man has not a right to be a millionaire, who has? By a wise use of his ability through many years of anxious effort he has been the means of furnishing steady employment at good wages to multitudes of men and women, and also of enabling manufacturers and merchants to make money, whilst the products of his machinery have increased the pleasure and comfort of millions of people throughout the world. Sensible people will rejoice that such a man has been liberally rewarded, and that no envious Socialists have been able to deprive him of the rent of his ability. In defending himself against a particularly venomous attack made upon him by Mr. Byles, M.P., Lord Masham said: "As in the past, so in the future, England's greatness and prosperity mainly depend upon her inventors, and the ingenuity of her people. Where would the country be now but for the mighty host of those who have gone before, and from whose labours we enjoy so many blessings and comforts? It is fifty years since I took my first patent, and during those fifty years I have spent far more than half a million on various inventions, often being on the verge of ruin if I failed to succeed. Many laborious and anxious years have I spent, not knowing whether it would end in

success or ruin. The proud position of the inventor is that he is bound to enrich the world while he enriches himself, as he must have created something that did not exist before; and this has been especially so with those inventions, to which I have devoted my life, in silk and wool. . . . I have the proud satisfaction of knowing that every stone in one of the finest business concerns in the world, and also that my wealth, has been produced and created by the power of the inventor."

It is surely clear to the dullest mind that of all the world's workers those who do most to produce utility or wealth, to spread the advantages and conveniences of wealth, and to give employment to the labour of others, are the men of speculative minds, who deal with abstract ideas, and who study to apply these abstractions and speculations to practical commerce and manufacture. We have seen how one inventor may set in motion the labour of millions of other people. Such men are the truest friends of the working classes. But how many miners reflect how much they owe to the safety lamp invented by Sir Humphry Davy? Yet that simple invention, by reducing the danger to human life to a *minimum* in the mine, at once made the miner's occupation more pleasant and secure and reduced the price of coals, thus indirectly stimulating all the industries to which coals are essential and also enabling the poor man to obtain a fire more cheaply. How many railway men reflect that if Watt had not invented the steam engine and Stephenson the locomotive there could have been no railways, and therefore no employment for them? Society in general, and the working classes in particular, owe practically everything that goes to make up wealth and happiness to intellectual workmen. More than sixty years ago it was calculated that the writings of Sir Walter Scott had given employment to a sufficient number of workmen in various countries, paper-makers, printers, and bookbinders, to people a large town if they could be gathered into one community. If this was

true then, how much more true is it now? And what is true of Scott is almost equally true of Dickens, Mrs. Henry Wood, and other prolific writers. Josiah Wedgwood conceived the idea of reviving the designs of Grecian art in pottery, and the result was the establishment of the famous potteries at Etruria in Staffordshire. In a similar manner Sir Henry Doulton has produced the beautiful pottery ware associated with his name. Both these famous potters have provided employment for thousands of people. If the Socialists, by confiscating the "rent of ability," could stop the production of men of extraordinary intellectual gifts, the working classes would be the chief losers.

It follows from the position already established that it is not labour, in its popular sense of manual toil, which is the chief factor in the production of wealth. The fallacy and absurdity of supposing that it is was clearly pointed out in the first chapter of the first volume of this work, and since that volume was issued Mr. W. H. Mallock has expounded the same idea with great clearness and force in his book entitled "Labour and the Popular Welfare." To Mr. Mallock belongs the credit of having been the first among economical writers to accord to this truth the prominence which is due to it and to correlate it with other truths. Other writers have of course perceived the idea, but Mr. Mallock has seized it with a firm grip and placed it in its proper position. He distinguishes clearly between labour and ability, regarding the latter as the power which directs and uses labour, and therefore as the chief agent in the production of wealth. Economists have usually stated the causes of wealth to be Land, Labour, and Capital; but Mr. Mallock contends that a fuller and truer statement is "Land, Labour, Capital, and Ability"; the two first being the indispensable elements in the production of any wealth whatsoever; the fourth being the cause of all progress in production; and the third, as it now exists, being the creation of the fourth, and the means through which it operates. This is a convenient and useful distinction, as

it attaches to Labour the meaning of muscular or manual exertion, and to Ability the meaning of mental and moral exertion. There is a further, and a more fundamental, difference between Labour and Ability, viz., that whilst the effect of the labourer's action, as for example of the operative cotton spinner, is confined to his own work, the effect of Ability, as for example in the case of Arkwright, is to influence the work of thousands of other people. Mr. Mallock's primary object is "to exhibit the absolute falsehood of the Socialistic doctrine that *all wealth is due to labour*," and this he achieves by showing that "the principal producing agent is what I have called industrial ability, or the faculty which, while exercised by the few, directs the labour of the many." He holds, and rightly, that "the moment the functions of industrial ability are made clear, the Socialistic doctrine which seemed an axiom is reduced to an absurdity," and that "whoever may produce the wealth which the rich classes possess, it is at all events not produced by the multitude, and might, under changed conditions, be no longer produced at all." His conclusion is that out of our present national income of about thirteen hundred million pounds, Labour has produced only five hundred millions, while Ability has produced eight hundred millions.*

It is morally certain that the triumph of Socialism, carrying with it the confiscation of the rent of ability, would

* Mr. Mallock has also in an article which appeared in the *National Review* (March, 1893), shown what would be the effect of an equal division of property. This is his conclusion:—"We have for every four-and-a-half persons a net income of £139. Now these persons would be found to consist on an average of a man and his wife, a youth, a girl, and part of a baby—for when we deal in averages we must pass many judgments like Solomon's—and if we distribute the income amongst them, as I said, in such proportions as obtain now, the result we shall arrive at will be this: The man will have £56 a year, the woman £44, the youth £20, the girl £15, and the half of the baby £4."

put a stop to the whole of that portion of production, that is the greater portion, which is due to Ability as distinct from Labour. There would then be no more Arkwrights, or Mashams, or Watts, or Stephensons. There might be men of equal ability and genius, but they would have no stimulus or encouragement to develop their powers, and therefore they would lie dormant. No tyrant or combination of tyrants could compel men of intellectual ability to put forth their best powers if they were denied the right of reaping the advantages of their endeavour. Men, especially men of the highest type, are so constituted that they will only yield the best fruit of their intellect when their roots are struck in the soil of freedom. Manual toil of an inferior kind may be whipped out of slaves; but the sweat of the intellect never. Under the natural and moral system of Individualism able men are free to make the most of their faculties for their own advantage (though they cannot do even this without advantaging others); the result is that they accumulate wealth, which they often use for wise and benevolent purposes, to the profit of the community. Under the unnatural and immoral system of Socialism able men would not use their ability; consequently the wealth which would have been created by its use would not exist; so that while the individual would remain poor the community would lose largely as well. Socialistic coercion would never produce the fruits of ability. Mr. G. J. Holyoake strikingly says: "The preference of Nature for Individualism is seen in this, that Committees never make discoveries. The steam engine or the railway were not the work of a council. Photography, or the telegraph, or the telephone, were not the discoveries of a Caucus. Astronomy and geology were not advanced to their present position by a Commission. A Cabinet Council has no genius save in diluting the annual message to Parliament, so that it means nothing in particular. The Queen, if left to herself, would produce a much more entertaining speech than anyone read in her name. Could Angelo, or Thorwaldsen, Titian,

Millais, or Ruskin have made statues, or pictures, or books under the inspiration of a Board of Directors? Committees, Counsellors, and Parliaments have their places and functions. Notwithstanding, Individualism has its inextinguishable place."

We now proceed to deal with a higher phase of the subject, which affects the social and moral life and interests of men and women, just as the lower phase of it which we have just been considering chiefly affects their material well-being. Socialism, as was remarked in the early part of this chapter, wantonly attacks the most sacred personal rights of men and women. We have seen how it would deal with the right of men to their own capacities. Mr. Olivier intimates that "the right of man over his own body" is an assumed right which Socialists do not admit. Logically enough, the Socialists are prepared to push their principle to its extremest limits. They would deprive men and women of liberty even to fall in love with each other, or to marry, or to have children. Indeed, the marriage institution would be suppressed, and the family would cease to exist. Motherhood, instead of being what God intended it to be, a sacred and responsible function, at once the expression and the gratification of the highest and holiest instincts of woman's nature, would be degraded to a mere function of the State; whilst fatherhood would be nothing more than a piece of animalism, the father having no recognised status at all in the Socialistic community. The mother would have no relation with the father of her child except an animal one, and probably more often than not she would not know who was the father of her child.

The teaching will appear to many to be abominable and loathsome (as it truly is), and they will have great difficulty in believing that such a body of men and women as the Socialists, who plume themselves upon both their intellectual and moral superiority, can propagate it. To show, therefore, that we have not misrepresented them we shall establish our position by ample quotation.

First, however, we may pause awhile to consider the significant and suggestive fact (already briefly adverted to) that all prominent Socialists, from Plato downwards, display a curious antipathy towards monogamy and loyalty to the marriage vow and a sinister preference for promiscuity in sexual relations. There is a deep-seated reason for this; for Socialists instinctively realise that the marriage of one man to one woman, and the keeping of these two to each other, is the foundation of the family, and that the family is the mightiest bulwark in existence against the inroads of Communistic bestialism. Until they break down the family as an institution they will never succeed in setting up their promiscuous Free Love establishment; and they will never succeed in breaking down the family institution, in this country at all events, while English men and women remain what they are and while the religion of Christ retains its power.

“To roll with pleasure in a sensual sty”

is the Socialistic ideal of felicity. Under Socialism men would be like unto the brute beasts with respect to the unbridled indulgence of their carnal appetites; they would be relieved from all the personal penalties which now attach to such indulgence; there could be no immorality because there would be no morality; the human animal would do as he or she liked, and shoulder off the consequences upon the community. Love, with its sacred idealism, its exhilarating emotions, its deep and swift self-revelation, its glorification of and its loyalty to its adored object, its unparalleled potency, would then be unknown; for it would be substituted lust, sensual, bestial, debasing, corrupt. Herding with many would take the place of marriage with one. The sexual relation, instead of being used for its Divinely-appointed and natural end of propagating the race, would be employed mainly for wanton debauchery, its natural end being frustrated either by the sterility of satiety or by the odious artifices of calculating regulation. Society, instead of being a congeries of families, each separate and

distinct under its own heads, its members united to each other by ties of affection and fulfilling towards each other filial and fraternal duties and charities, would be a huge *caravanserai*, where every traveller would be practically unknown and unrelated to every other, where all relations would be temporary and terminable at will, where the only common tie existing would be that all alike were slaves, driven and oppressed by the tyrants at the head of the community. Under such Communism "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," could have no place. The virtues, the refinements, the adornments of society would be trampled into the mire of this universal pig-sty; the rivers of truth and purity and beauty which now gladden and nourish society would be turned into common sewers; every little pond and puddle even would be a sinkhole of iniquity and corruption. Moral malaria, the miasma of degeneration, the poison of putrefaction would everywhere permeate and prevail, until the community, a rotting and loathsome mass, came to its natural and predestined end amid the execrations of Heaven and the acclamations of Hell.

Plato, in his *Republic*, advocates licentiousness and promiscuity. He says: "As to those youths who distinguish themselves, either in war or other pursuits, they ought to have rewards and prizes given them, and the most ample liberty of 'living' with women, that so the greatest number of children may spring from such parentage." He specifies the age at which people ought to be allowed to have children, and says that after that age "we are to let the men live with any woman they like, except their daughter, mother, or the children of their daughter, or those upwards from their mother." And this old Pagan fool (a wise enough man upon some matters, but surely a fool in regard to these!) is taught to the youth of our public schools as a master in philosophy. According to Plato no mother ought

to know her own child, no child its own mother. He says again : " As respects, then, the children of worthy parents, I think they (the authorities) should carry them to some retirement, to certain nurses dwelling apart in a certain quarter of the city ; but as for the children of the more depraved, and such of the rest as may be maimed or lame, they will hide them, as is right, in some secret and obscure place. (Is this an euphemistic way of saying that he would kill off the weak and unfit, as Lycurgus did?) Yes, indeed, if the race of guardians is to be pure. Will they not, then, take care also of the children's nurture, bringing to the nursery mothers with full breasts, taking every precaution that no woman should recognise her own child, and, where the mothers cannot suckle them, providing others who would be able to do so. And they are to be careful also of this, most particularly, that the nurses suckle only during a proper time, and they will enjoin, both on nurses and keepers, their watching duties." Just try to imagine a state of society in which " men live with any woman they like ; " in which children are taken from their mothers at birth and handed over to strangers ; in which huge lying-in and nursery establishments are provided and all the operations of midwifery and nursing are performed under the direction of State inspectors, just as if cattle were being dealt with instead of human beings ; and in which there is neither father, nor mother, nor home in any true sense of those words. Can anything more hideous, more monstrous, more repulsive be conceived ? That is Socialism, morally and socially ; that is the sort of community that it would create.

But is it modern Socialism ? Can we make the Socialists of to-day responsible for what Plato the Pagan taught ? The ideas of modern Socialists upon this subject are but the recrudescence of the ideas of Plato. Over and over again in the course of this work we have had to point out that all the ideas of Socialism are ancient errors revived. This is another case in point. Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, in a work on

“Ibsen,” refers to the time, “the happy time,” when “the continuity of society no longer depends upon the private nursery,” and when it “may be necessary that every able-bodied woman should be called upon to risk her life in child-bed, just as it may be necessary that every man should be called upon to risk his life in the battlefield.” What is this but Platoism over again? The abolition of the private nursery means the abolition of marriage. Children, it appears, are to be produced to order as required, and motherhood be made compulsory! It has been remarked, by the bye, that when the State, under this arrangement, required a child, or a supply of children, it would have to obtain them from individuals; that it has no way of obtaining them apart from individuals; that it is, in other words, dependent upon *Individualism* for its own continuity. If nursing is of the State, motherhood is the function of the woman. Could there be a more ridiculous, or at the same time a more conclusive exposure and refutation of the falsity and incongruity of Socialism? Here is a rock against which it breaks its head. When Socialists are able to set up a gigantic incubator, and produce children as chickens are produced, and thus replenish society apart from the volition and effort of the individual, then they may boast of the truth of their system.*

* “Nature produces persons singly. Twins or triplets are no exception, for each has a special wilfulness. Where there are two heads to one body, each has separate tastes of its own. Where there is one head to two bodies there is little or no unity of action. The general rule of nature is to produce individuals with infinite diversity of stature, mould, complexion, tone of voice, taste, and manner of mind. The law of nature is individuality. It knows nothing of Collectivism, nor Socialism, nor ‘Fabianism.’ It fills the world with self-desiring, self-acting, self-seeking persons, who will die if they do not look after themselves—unless somebody undertakes the pernicious duty of providing for them. So strong is this instinct of individuality that if left to itself it will exert itself at the expense of anything or anybody. The

Parenthood gone, the family broken down, the education and training of the children would of course be carried on by the State. Even the mother (the father is altogether out of the question) would have no control over their nurture and their teaching. According to Mrs. Besant, the education of children is altogether too important a matter to be left in the hands of the children's parents. Mr. Belfort Bax, at once quoting Gabriel Deville and speaking for himself, says: "To permit by religious practice the cerebral deformation of children is in reality a monstrous violation of the liberty of conscience, which can only become effective after the proscription of what at present passes muster for religious liberty, the odious licence in favour of some to the detriment of all. The vampire, bourgeois liberty of conscience, must in short be impaled before true liberty of conscience can become a healthy living reality."

We again ask the reader to endeavour to picture to his mind a social state in which the sexual passion would have free play, unchecked by any sort of responsibility; in which there would be no true fathers or mothers, the status of the father being destroyed, and the function of the mother being a matter of State; in which the children belong to nobody, and yet to everybody, and are kept and educated entirely by the State. If the Devil could set up his hell upon this earth by any means, he would find no means of doing it so effectual as the machinery of Socialism; if the human race could be damned during the mortal state of its existence, even Satanic malignity need desire for it no damnation more accursed than this. The idea of such a state is indeed so revolting as to create in the mind of the average Englishman the idea that it can never be established in this country. Be not too sure of that. Consider how far we have already travelled in the direction of *State parentage*, and how ready many of our public men are to

vindication of individuality is, so far, the vindication of public energy in persons and institutions."--G. J. Holyoake.

travel still further, and to feed and clothe children at the public expense. Logically, the end of all that is the condition of things advocated by Plato and the Socialists.

The point which we have been considering is one of the most vital in this life-and-death controversy. Nowhere is the essential and irreconcilable antagonism between Individualism and Socialism more sharply defined than in relation to those primal passions and emotions which have to do with the love of one man for one woman, the procreation of offspring, and the establishment of the family for the training of children, as the result of that love. The family, which is the outcome of Individualism, is also its corner-stone. For the family exists the State; from the family is the State. This is the contention of Individualism. Socialism inverts the order, and says: From the State is the family; for the State the family exists; with the family the State can do what it wills. Nature, another name for God, has made the propagation of human life, that is the perpetuation of the race, dependent upon a unique individual action, which finds scope for its proper performance in the institutions of marriage and the family; and in so doing Nature has erected an impregnable barrier against the system which would substitute the loathsome promiscuity of Communism for the pure relationships of family life. The power of fatherhood, the instinct of motherhood, the sweet purity of love and domestic existence—these are pristine and indestructible forces which ordain that the family should be supreme, the State subordinate, and against them the frothy waves of Socialism will bear in vain.*

* "It is clear Individuality is indestructible. It must be reckoned with, neither State, nor Church, nor Socialism, can afford to overlook it. Nor can anyone afford to part with it. A committee elected by universal suffrage could not conduct a man's life; nor choose a wife for him half so much to his own satisfaction as he could choose one for himself. Some years ago there was a 'State within a

M. Emile de Lavaleye, the eminent writer on sociology and economics, has thus described the general social and moral results which would follow in the train of Socialism: "Absolute and necessary despotism is then the last stage of this system which invokes liberty, promises happiness, and swears by equality. It recognises the independence of man, and makes a slave of him. It gives free vent to his appetite, but ties up labour. It liberates him from the obligations of the moral law, but introduces the inquisition. Respect the principle of evil; it is an instinct of nature. Let concupiscence spread unchecked; pleasure is the great aim of life. Woe to him who rises superior to his fellows in either genius or virtue; he is infringing the rights of others, and violating equality. Why proscribe Aristides? Because he is a just man. Dissolute brutes, under an iron yoke, is the ideal communism which materialism dreams of. Herein is summarised the entire doctrine. Man is desirous of family joys, and of the supreme charm of liberty. Instead of these he is allotted compulsory labour and promiscuity of intercourse. Society must arrive at a state of organisation, where the greatest activity can be displayed under a reign of the most perfect order; the materialists offer a dead level of uniformity and general servitude."†

State' which undertook this duty; but the Council of Selection failed to give contentment to either party, and the Nuptial Committee was never re-appointed when their term of office expired. Their scheme was as perfect as any Lassalian could wish; but human nature was against it."—*G. J. Holyoake.*

† Since this chapter was written Professor C. F. Bastable, addressing the Economic Science Section of the British Association, of which he was President, in August, 1894, said: "The essential character of the Socialistic movement that is passing over Western civilization cannot be properly judged if we look on it as merely economic. The ordinary antithesis between Socialism and Individualism, or, as it is often conceived, between self-sacrifice and selfishness, seems

We have seen how Socialism would dwarf, and ultimately destroy, mental self-hood, by eliminating from human nature, as far as it is possible to do so, that vital and essential element of true manhood and womanhood—the power of judgment, of discrimination, of choice, of decision, by which power human beings are able to take their own way, choose their own lot, develop their own faculties, and make the best of themselves generally. Under Individualism that power has free play; that is to say, the system of Individualism accords with the nature of man, and responds to his needs and his aspirations. Hence under it this essential element of manhood, freedom of

to me altogether misleading. The struggle is rather one between two distinct types of social organization, one resting on the exaltation of the relatively modern institution of the State, the other deriving its principal force from the oldest and most enduring element of human society—the family. This aspect of the question will more and more come into prominence as the conflict proceeds. It is not the “man of nature,” the individual released from all restraints, who forms the unit in our modern “individualistic” societies, but the individual with family ties and sentiments, and profoundly influenced by other than purely self-regarding motives. Collectivist Socialism seeks to substitute for these natural agencies the comparatively artificial authority of the sovereign State. It aims at transforming private into public law, and it would make the life-work of the citizen one round of public administrative duties. The origin of this special system is obviously due to a particular social condition; it is the natural product of the factory and the workmen’s club—*i.e.*, of a mode of living in which the family has unhappily sunk to a minor position, and in which the main uniting bond is that of ‘comradeship.’ How impossible it would be to bring all human societies under a form of regulation that presupposes the close contact of large masses of men, and how hopeless it is to expect its effective working while the domestic organization and family affections retain their power, is a lesson that the study of social science in all branches will most effectually teach.”

choice and decision, is vitalised and developed, continually making the individual man or woman more perfect. Under the regulation, the drill, the uniformity of Socialism this faculty of discrimination and decision would, through non-use, shrivel and wither. It could not be killed outright, for it is the Divine spark in man that can never be put out; but it could and would be dwarfed and palsied and incapacitated: which is to say that man would virtually cease to be man, would degenerate into a machine or an automaton, would be simply a shadow of his former great self. Socialism and humanity are antagonistic; either can conquer only at the other's expense; the triumph of the one necessarily carries with it the overthrow of the other. Mental self-hood would be atrophied under Socialism; only the lower animal organism would be left active and strong.

This will appear still more clearly when we consider that moral self-hood could not long survive under the materialistic conditions which Socialism would establish. Here we touch the innermost core of the subject. The glory of man is that he has within him somewhat of the Divine; the blessedness of man is that he can turn himself to, enjoy fellowship with, and find satisfaction in the Divine. This it is which, even more than his great powers of reason and intellect, differentiates him from the brutes and correlates him with his Heavenly Father. The highest right of man is the right to love, worship, and serve his God; his noblest liberty is freedom to serve and worship God according to the clearest light of his conscience. How would this right and privilege, most precious of all man's prerogatives, fare under Socialism?

We have already shown that Socialism is, essentially and by nature, a system of coarse materialism, which, as it violates the moral law which God has written upon the human conscience as well as in His revealed Word, also, and therefore, "opposeth and exalteth itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." Whatever degrades

man must dishonour God, for "we are His offspring"; whatever denies the highest within man must deny the highest without man. Socialism both denies God and debases humanity.

Karl Marx was an Atheist. He said: "The idea of God must be destroyed. It is the keystone of a perverted civilisation. The true root of liberty, of equality, of culture is atheism. Nothing must restrain the spontaneity of the human mind." His work on Capital is aggressively anti-Christian and materialistic. Feuerbach, who has exerted a most powerful influence upon modern Socialism, said: "God was my first thought, reason my second, man my third and last. . . . Man alone is our god, our father, our judge, our redeemer, our true home, our law and rule, the Alpha and Omega of our political, moral, public, and domestic life and work. . . . Man by himself is but man; man with man, the unity of I and Thou, is god." At the Socialistic Alliance of Geneva the following programme was adopted:

"1. The Alliance declares itself Atheist; it demands the abolition of all worship, the substitution of science for faith, and of human justice for Divine justice; the abolition of marriage, so far as it is a political, religious, juridical, or civil institution."

"2. It demands especially the definitive and entire abolition of classes, the political, social, and economical equalisation of the sexes, and, to arrive at that and, above all, the abolition of the right of inheritance, so that in future the enjoyments of each man should correspond exactly to his production."

German Democratic Socialism has been analysed by a German writer, who calls himself a "Christian" Socialist, into three main elements: "first, in economics, Communism; second, in politics, Republicanism; and third, in religion, Atheism." The same analysis will hold good when applied to Socialism generally, not excluding that variety of it which is active in our own country. For

Continental Socialism itself can produce no more blatant or blasphemous Atheists than those who infest London and our large cities. Mr. Belfort Bax may be taken for a fair sample. He says: "It is useless blinking the fact that the Christian doctrine is more revolting to the higher moral sense of to-day than the Saturnalia or the cult of Proserpine could have been to the conscience of the early Christian. And more than this, the social and humanistic tendencies of the age, the consciousness of human welfare and human development as 'our being's end and aim,' as the sole object worthy of human devotion, must instinctively shrink from its antithesis, the theological spirit; and this despite the emasculated free Christian and theistic guise in which the latter may appear at the present time. 'Ye cannot serve God and humanity' is the burden of the nobler instincts of our epoch. . . . The true ideal which alone can effectually exorcise the spectre of Christian theology from our midst is unfortunately confined to a few. . . . The higher human ideal stands in opposition at once to capitalism, the gospel of success, with its refined art of cheating, through the process of exchange, or, in short, to wordliness; and to Christianity, the gospel of success in a hypothetical other life, or, in short, to other-worldliness. . . . We care not for Jesus of Nazareth any more than for Mohammed, for Gautama, or for Kon-fu-tze; disputes as to the relative merits or demerits of those teachers are vain as they are endless. We know of greater men than these—greater, inasmuch as they have not posed as great teachers, but have contented themselves with the rank of humbler and equal workers—who came in the form of neither god nor prophet, but of the humanity whose religion is human welfare, not the welfare of a race or a class, but of the whole; whose doctrine is its attainment, through human solidarity, or, in other words, Socialism."

We have said sufficient to prove that the spirit of the Socialism of to-day is the spirit of Rousseau and the other French "philosophers" to whom it owes its existence;

that it is irreligious, materialistic, and atheistic; that it would if it could do here what it did in France, proscribe Christianity and religion, and exalt the Goddess of Reason (in the person of a strumpet) as the only lawful object of worship. Divine persons and sacred things would be mocked and blasphemed; the highest rights of man would be trampled underfoot; and men and women, in relation to religion as to other things, would be debased to the level of the beasts of the field. Embruted and enslaved, human beings would lose the affection and esteem which they now feel towards each other in a greater or less degree, and would cease to practise towards one another the kindness and goodwill which alone make life tolerable, and would develop in them passions of ferocity and hate which would create perpetual antagonism. Society would seethe in bitterness; civil war would be chronic; the community would be a pandemonium of fighting and glaring demons.

Socialism originates in intolerance, and exists by it, whereas Individualism originates in tolerance, and exists by that: Socialism would extirpate the highest and noblest personal rights of human beings, must extirpate them in order to ensure its own existence, whilst Individualism would preserve those rights intact, and is indeed bound to do so to preserve itself.

Having contrasted the effect which Socialism must inevitably produce upon the intellectual and moral nature of man with the effect which must with equal inevitableness be produced by Individualism, we may now take a somewhat lower view, fixing our attention upon property, and see how the two systems would affect material interests. This branch of the subject has of course received our attention before, but it is one to which it is well to recur again and again, examining it from various points of view. How then would Socialism, and how in contrast would Individualism, affect Production, or labour; Accumulation, or capital; Distribution, or exchange; and Wages, or the remuneration of labour and ability?

As regards production, it may be remarked that so far all production has been under Individualism; there has been no Socialistic production at all. Indeed, the same may be said with regard to accumulation and exchange; for there has never yet been a nation which has tried the experiment of producing, accumulating, and distributing under a Socialistic system. It is not probable that there ever will be such a nation. If economists are agreed upon any point at all it is that the laws of economics are natural laws, or laws of Nature, and as John Stuart Mill says: "The expression, laws of Nature, mean nothing but the uniformities which exist among natural phenomena." Laws of Nature are not produced by the will or the design of human beings, nor can they be annihilated by the design or will of human being. To abuse or denounce these laws is about as rational as it would be to denounce or abuse the laws of the tides. Socialistic visionaries who are imitating King Canute, and bidding the waves to recede at their imperious commands, will find themselves in as ridiculous a position as that foolish king. The laws of Nature will work in spite of them. It is one of the hardest things in the world to convince people that the principles and laws which Political Economy talks so much about are truths which set forth the actual relations which have been established in the world with regard to the production and distribution and consumption of wealth. Even certain political economists, whilst they are willing enough to see that some things in their science are beyond the reach of human legislation, are unwilling to recognise the same truth with regard to other things. John Stuart Mill, for example, as we have seen, whilst he admits that the laws of production are scientific, and therefore cannot be affected by the wishes, or volitions, or efforts of man, expressly states, first, that the laws of distribution are "partly of human institution," and then afterwards that distribution "is a matter of human institution solely." The following sentence shows how completely Mill departed from his own principle on the uniformity of the laws of nature.

He says : " Unlike the laws of Production, those of Distribution are partly of human institution, since the manner in which wealth is distributed in any given society depends on the statutes or usages therein obtaining." Mill does not prove this remarkable statement, simply because it is incapable of proof. The laws which govern Production and Distribution are alike generalisations from experience and fact, and one set of laws is as scientific as the other. Yet Mill thinks that while " Production is not an arbitrary thing," Distribution is. Why ? Simply because he wished to persuade himself, and other people as well, that whilst it would be unwise and dangerous for the Government to attempt to interfere with Production it would be both wise and safe for it to interfere with Distribution. Legislatures might pass any laws they liked for redistributing the wealth of society among its members, taking from those who have much to give to those who have little, without any harm being done. Mill's bias towards Socialism perverted his view with regard to this most important matter, as well as with regard to some others, and consequently he is a most unsafe guide. He says further : " In the social state, in every state except total solitude, any disposal whatever of wealth could only take place by the consent of society, or rather of those who dispose of its active forces. Even what a person has produced by his individual toil, unaided by anyone, he cannot keep, unless by the permission of society. Not only could society take it from him, but individuals could and would take it from him, if society only remained passive ; if it did not either interfere *en masse* or employ or pay people for the purpose of preventing him from being disturbed in the possession. The distribution of wealth, therefore, depends on the laws and customs of society. The rules by which it is determined are what the opinions and feelings of the ruling portion of the community make them, and are very different in different ages and countries ; and might be still more different, if mankind so chose." It is obvious that if this were true every man would hold his

property subject to the arbitrary will of the State, and the State could at any time, in order to meet the exigency of the moment, decree that the property of A should henceforth belong to B, or that the possessions of the House of Peers should in future belong to the dock labourers. It is amazing that a man like John Stuart Mill should have taught such pernicious nonsense as this. Socialism would, from its very nature, prevent production entirely, except in so far as it was necessary to provide a bare sustenance; accumulation would cease altogether; as for distribution, that would take care of itself, for where there was little production, and no accumulation, there would be nothing to distribute. Man is so constituted that he will neither produce nor accumulate when he has no assurance that he will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his labours.

A word or two with regard to wages, and the rewards of ability. Under Individualism, or what the Socialists like to call the competitive system, just inequalities naturally exist, and are permitted to work out their natural effects. Just inequalities, be it observed, for it is essentially just that a workman who by his energy and skill can produce labour twice as valuable as another man who is less skilful and energetic should be paid double the wages of the latter; and essentially just that an inventor, or a manager, who furnishes labour to men of an inferior capacity, should himself reap results in proportion to his energy and ability. The equality which would be introduced by Socialism as between those men would be the most flagrant injustice. Under that system the more skilful and energetic men would receive only the remuneration of the less skilful and less energetic, and the consequence would be that skilled workmen would soon cease to exist altogether, whilst the energetic would decline to exert their ability. Superficial observers are very apt to suppose that because men are paid different rates of wages some injustice is done to those who receive the lower remuneration; they quite ignore the fact that each man is receiving virtually what he is worth;

whilst they altogether overlook the fact that if the inferior workman were paid at the same rate as the superior workman, the latter would suffer a gross injustice. Variations of wages arise from variations in the energy, the skill, and the native ability of those who receive them. In other words, the inequalities in wages correspond to the inequalities which exist in the workmen themselves. If all the workmen in a given manufactory were equally able, equally skilful, and equally industrious, their wages would be equal too. It is the quality of the labourers themselves which determines the amount of their remuneration. This is as it should be. To depart from this principle, and establish a Socialistic system which would pay all men equally, without any regard to their capacity or their industry, would be as unjust as it would be foolish. Under the Individualistic system every man has a fair chance of obtaining what he is worth; under Socialism no man would have such a chance. Wages depend, and they must depend, upon the relative productiveness of labour. If a man is working for himself, and works hard and well, he will reap the result in the increased produce of his labour; if he is working for a master, with whom he has contracted to sell his labour at a fixed price, the master incurring all risks of loss, and taking all profits, then the more efficiently he works the more valuable his labour will become to his employer, and the more the latter will be willing to pay for it. If for no other reason, a master will pay a good workman good wages because if he did not do so, some other master would. It would be an injustice that a master should have to pay to a workman more than the value of his labour, while it would be degrading to the workman to receive that for which he had rendered no return; on the other hand it would be unjust to the workman that he should receive less than the value of his labour, while it would be degrading to the master to receive labour for which he had paid no return in wages. Under Socialism all these things would happen, nay, they would be the regular and constant results of the

system ; under Individualism they need not happen at all, and as a matter of fact they do not happen often.

To sum up. To the Socialistic system we oppose Individualism. What is Individualism? It is that condition in which a man is free to make the most and the best of his individual talent, energies, and opportunities, without being checked and fettered by the State in those directions where he does not injure or interfere with the liberty and the possessions of other people. As Kant says : "Every one may seek his own happiness in the way that seems good to himself, provided that he infringe not such freedom of others to strive after a similar end as is consistent with the freedom of all, according to possible general law." This is Individualism. In the words of the poet Thomson—

"Whatever freedom for ourselves we claim,
We wish all others to enjoy the same
In simple womanhood's and manhood's name!
Freedom within one law of sacred might—
'Trench not on any other's equal right.' " *

* The following additional expressions of opinion on the marriage question are significant. Robert Owen did not believe in the marriage tie, and held that private or single family arrangements must come to an end. All children were to be given up to the State, as the parents were the very worst persons to bring up their own offspring. Mr. William Morris, the poet, says : "The present marriage system is based on the supposition of economic dependence of the woman on the man. This basis would disappear with the advent of Socialism, and *permanent contracts would become unnecessary*. We should have, instead, an association terminable at the will of either party." Bakunin said : "We declare ourselves atheistic, we seek the abolition of all religion, and the abolition of marriage."

CHAPTER II.

THE TRUE SOCIALISM.

PERHAPS nothing has done such serious mischief in the community as the idea, vaguely entertained by some very excellent people, that Christianity, if it does not directly teach Socialism, yet in some way countenances it. Most of the people who hold this notion assume that Christianity is favourable to, and reconcilable with, the teachings of Socialists and Communists; and when a thing is assumed, or taken for granted, it is not very likely that much careful inquiry will be made as to whether the assumption is correct or not. Hence it has come to pass that thousands of good Christian men and women who in their hearts abhor dishonesty have virtually joined hands with those who wish to thieve, and to thieve on a wholesale scale, and consequently are much more criminal and at the same time more dangerous to the community than common thieves are. Hence also we have the notion, which dimly floats before the mind of the community, that there must be something good and commendable at the bottom of Socialism after all. Of course the truth is that Socialism is as utterly opposed to the Scriptures as it is to reason and common sense; that Christianity is Individualistic to its very core; and that its principles are fundamentally and irreconcilably opposed to the perverted and immoral ideas which constitute the very warp and woof of Socialism. If the semi-Socialistic Christians referred to would but take the trouble to thoroughly examine the book by which they profess to shape their conduct, namely, the New Testament, they would find that it is impossible to accept that book and the teachings of Socialistic iconoclasts at the same time. It

is impossible to serve Jesus Christ and Karl Marx. We must make our choice betwixt the Mammon of Socialistic unrighteousness and the exalted aims of a God-inspired Individualism. We cannot accept and serve both.

No error is so dangerous as a half-truth, and the small modicum of truth which Christian Socialists (so-called) have got hold of, and which they pervert with such fervid ingenuity, is precisely the thing which makes their conduct a peril to the nation. Because the Jewish law curbed the greed of property owners in various directions and displayed a divine tenderness towards the poor; * because Jesus Christ taught that the relations between the rich and the poor ought to be brotherly, and told the rich ruler to go and sell all that he had and give to the poor; and because the infant Christian Church at Jerusalem had all things in common—it is therefore assumed that there must be some affinity betwixt the Christian Church and those social movements which attack all ownership of property, which consider it a crime to be rich and a virtue to be poor, and which would turn things upside down by degrading the richest down to the position of the poorest, and reducing everybody to a dead level of poverty and misery. This is a mere assumption, however. Sympathy with the poor is one thing; robbing the rich to give to the poor is quite another thing. If Christianity were what some of its Socialistic adherents represent it to be, its most enthusiastic votaries might well despair of its ever achieving conquest over other religions and diffusing its healing influence throughout the world. For no race of human beings, not even the lowest, would accept a system of religion which denuded the individual of his manhood and his independence, which prevented him from appropriating that which he had himself produced, and

*Henry George and his followers make a great parade of quotations from the Scriptures; but they are from the Old Testament, *i.e.*, from the Jewish law, which was abrogated by Jesus Christ.

which placed the industrious on a par with the idle, and the capable on the same plane as the incompetent. The worst foes of Christianity have ever been those of its own household. In the theological realm the pure and simple religion of Jesus Christ has been overlaid and smothered by the creeds, traditions, and philosophies of men, so that any man who wishes to find Apostolic Christianity, and commences his quest in the churches, will have to dig through mountains of rubbish before he can discover the true faith and the true church. What has happened on the doctrinal side of Christianity is now being repeated as regards its social side. Here again, we have the plain, practical, and rational teachings of the New Testament either completely hidden under cart loads of Socialistic rubbish, or cunningly perverted and made vehicles for conveying meanings precisely opposite to those which they were intended to convey. As Christianity, in the dark ages, was made to suffer in the estimation of reasonable and intelligent people by the hair-splitting and the fictions of theologians, so in these professedly enlightened times it is to be made to suffer in the estimation of the same class of people by foisting upon it the crude, crooked, and criminal teachings of atheistic Communists. The wise seeker after Christian truth will not search for it in the impure and muddy streams of Sectarianism or of Socialism, but will go direct to the fountain-head, the New Testament itself, and read and judge according to his own light and his own convictions. There he will find the Truth, unembellished and unadulterated, and by that truth he may unerringly walk in the straight path of Christian integrity. The Carpenter of Nazareth, poor man as He was, and also the poor man's Friend, was no Socialist, and Socialism will yet be ground to powder by the mills of God which He set in motion. The Gospel of Jesus Christ will triumph alike over the corruptions of priest-craft and the criminalities of State-craft.

In the previous chapters we have defined the nature of Socialism and set forth its aims; we have shown that its

spirit is one of rancorous envy towards the rich, and that it would render the position of the poor intolerable; that it would be fatal to all the higher qualities of manhood, and would be a blight upon the nation, destroying all capital and commerce, and rendering labour unproductive; that it proposes to use violent and revolutionary means in order to despoil the propertied classes, and put an end to the existing organisation of society; and that until it is strong enough to resort to force its strategy is to induce unintelligent working men to use their political power as an engine for confiscating the possessions of the wealthy, and for crushing out the freedom of industry, and thereby crippling and paralysing commerce. No such Socialism as this is taught in the Bible. We challenge any Socialist to quote a passage from the Scriptures which gives him, or a majority who think with him, the right to deprive me of that which is mine, either because I have myself produced it or because it was given to me by those who did produce it. The very spirit and essence of Socialism is that it proposes to infringe the fundamental rights of individuals. It is all a question of property. If there were no property involved we should hear nothing of Socialism, which has its very origin in the desire of certain people to possess themselves of what belongs to certain other people. What loftiness or nobility is there about this? It is mean, despicable, and ignoble to the last degree. All the rhetoric used by Socialists to embellish their programme will not disguise its mercenary and sordid character. It is a mere piece of brigandage, the brigands using (for the present) violent and inflammatory speeches instead of gunpowder and dynamite. That these political incendiaries should coolly ask us to believe that they have the Bible on their side is to add insult to injury.

It may be remarked in passing that it is a great misfortune that we cannot pin Socialists down to a definition of what they mean by Socialism. At present they are able to shelter themselves under vague generalities, and if they are

driven from one position they are able to take their stand upon some position quite different. They run off into talk about Socialism in the Post Office, Socialism in the Poor Law, in Education Acts, in Factory Acts, etc., altogether ignoring the fact that these measures, whatever may be said for or against them, are quite distinct in their nature from the measures which Socialism proposes ultimately to secure. It is a truism that the State can do some things better than they can be done by individual enterprise, as in the Post Office and the Education Acts for example, and also that the State is within certain limits bound to protect the young and the helpless and the destitute, as it does in the Factory Acts and the Poor Law. But all these things can be done, and are done, without robbing the individual of that which is his own, or depriving him of his liberty, or suppressing the motives which induce men to put forth their utmost exertions in labour, and to carry on the operations of trade and commerce. Nobody knows better than Socialists themselves that there is a stupendous and fundamental difference between such State action for the general good as that which we now have in this country and such State action as they propose to secure. With them Socialism means the dissolution of society as it now exists; the abolition of private property in land and all things besides; the ownership of all property in common—or Communism; the destruction of individual freedom and the placing of the most learned and able in a position of equality with the most ignorant and incapable; and therefore the annihilation of the motives which prompt men to labour, to exchange, and to accumulate, and to carry on commerce, none of which things would be done if these motives ceased to operate. A nation Socialistic, and a nation intellectually great and commercially prosperous, is a contradiction in terms.

It was remarked just now that a seeker after truth, whether on religious or social subjects, would do well to consult the New Testament direct. Let us, therefore, go

to that book for an example of true Socialism. Of the infant Church at Jerusalem we read :

“And all that believed were together, and had all things common ; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, as every man had need.” (Acts ii. 45-46).

“And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul : neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common. . . Neither was there any among them that lacked : for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles’ feet : and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.” (Acts iv. 32-34).

Now let this language be carefully noted. Be it observed in the first place that these things are affirmed only of believers, or disciples of Christ. It is obvious that what would be proper enough in a community of believers would be highly improper in a promiscuous community. What was the motive which impelled these believers to act as they did ? Was any law passed bidding them so to act ? Certainly not. Their action was purely voluntary ; there was no compulsion brought to bear even upon believers. Let it be noted again that the individual ownership of property, not only of houses, but of land, was recognised, for people who possessed these things are said to have sold them. Even of these it is not said that they sold all their possessions, and the probability is that many of them did not. Of Ananias and Sapphira it is explicitly stated that they sold “a possession,” and not all their possessions. Peter said to Ananias, “While it remained, was it not thine own ? And when it was sold, *was it not in thine own power ?*” This seems to indicate that even after these people had parted with their possessions they did not lose absolute control over them ; the community that was established appeared to be one of use, and not of possession. At all events, it is quite clear that even after Ananias and

Sapphira had sold their property, they were quite at liberty to dispose of the proceeds as they liked. Nicolaus Von Strassburg is quite in error when he says in reference to the words "mine" and "thine": "These words were not in Christendom at first, where all earthly things were in common to them, but to each as his necessity required, not according to caprice and lust. Therefore they lived together in concord as if they had only one heart and one soul. This was to us a pattern of peace and Christian perfection." No man could have missed the mark more completely than Von Strassburg does. His interpretation of the Communism (not of the Early Christian Church, for there was nothing of the kind in the Church generally) of this Church at Jerusalem is utterly false and absurd. While he states that the early Christians did not use the words "mine" and "thine," the Apostle Peter said to and of Ananias—"While it remained was it not *thine* own? And when it was sold was it not in *thine* own power?" Not only "thine," mark; but "thine own." What could more explicitly describe individual ownership?

Almost as far astray as this German mystic was George Dawson, who was no mystic, but a man of great reputation for sagacity and common sense, and a renowned preacher of "rational" Christianity. He talks in this rhapsodical strain about this isolated experiment of early Christian Communism: "This holy Communism, this sweet sanctity of unselfishness, this glorious blossom of love, was nipped, and it fell; but it prophesied as it died. . . . The blossom will not last. It is so like that outbreak of Communism, and we know that did not last. I have no hope that it will come again in my time; but I have every hope that it will come ultimately. It is the word of God, the end of civilization, the aim of all holy souls, the dream of all great spirits. This is the holy city, the new Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, which will one day be received into the earth. For—mark you well—what man is when love is new, he will strive to be when love is old." This is

beautiful, superlative nonsense ; as far from the truth of the Scriptures as it is from common-sense.

All this, however, is but the mere fringe of the subject. Let us probe a little deeper. This New Testament incident clearly teaches us that true Socialism begins with the man himself, causes him to look at and into his own self, and to say to his fellow man : "All mine is thine." That is the Socialism we have in the passages just quoted. Contrast with this the false Socialism which is now advocated among us by the followers of Rousseau, Proudhon, Lassalle, and Marx. This false Socialism looks away from the man in whose heart it takes its rise, and begins with some other man, to whom it says : "All thine is mine." True Socialism gives all ; false Socialism grasps all. The one is the expression of brotherhood ; the other is the expression of unbrotherhood. One is spiritual, and is the offspring of love, by which it is ruled ; the other is political, the offspring of envy, and is ruled by greed. One trusts in moral means for the attainment of its ends ; the other in its more reputable form relies upon legal means, and in its less reputable form upon lawless and violent methods. One seeks to drive people into compliance with its demands by compulsion ; the other relies entirely upon the voluntary principle, and endeavours to draw people towards its own ideal. True Socialism preserves, and at the same time ennobles and perfects, Individualism ; false Socialism degrades, and, as far as it is possible to do so, destroys it. One is truly social, because it makes what each possesses to be really the property of all, to be held and used for the common good ; the other is anti-Social, because it is at the bottom selfish and destructive, because it is opposed to those laws upon which the welfare of the individual and of society alike depend. What have these two forms of Socialism in common ? Nothing. One is the antithesis of the other. These Jerusalem Christian Socialists in no way interfered with their neighbour's property or freedom. They did not seek to have any law enacted which would have

placed the possessions of other people at their disposal. They used their own freedom, and dealt with their own property, instead of seeking freedom to deal with the property of other people. There is nothing to prevent any number of Socialistic communities similar to that at Jerusalem being started among us at any time; for they could be started without doing any injury whatever except to the persons who composed them. Let those who wish to practise Socialistic doctrines withdraw themselves from the general community, and form themselves into communistic societies apart from everybody else, and nobody will say them nay. But is this what they desire? Would it suffice them? And if not, why not?*

Let it not be supposed, however, that this experiment at Jerusalem was a successful one. Had it been so it probably would have been imitated. But it never was imitated by any other church in the apostolic age. That is a significant fact. Equally significant is the fact that not one of the apostles commended this action of the Church at Jerusalem, or recommended any other Church to do likewise. There is good reason to believe that this communistic experiment at Jerusalem caused the chronic poverty of the Christians in that city. It is certainly remarkable that the one church which went through this foolish and disastrous experience

* "In a Socialistic community the sharp and clever men would not be able to raise themselves above their fellows by large acquisitions of material wealth. . . . But in a small community surrounded by competitive life they would be constantly made discontented by seeing how much distinction they could get in the world outside, not by doing something worthy of it, but by the much easier way of using their sharpness to get wealth. Now, although Socialists do believe that human nature on the whole is good enough to make a happy communal life possible, if unnecessary temptations are taken away, still we do not think it can stand the strain of any great amount of temptation to better self easily at the expense of the community."—*The Commonwealth*.

was the church for the relief of which all other churches in the early Christian world were called upon to contribute. So that, although we see Socialism at its best in the case of this apostolic community of believers, we also see that the best form of Socialism failed to achieve the objects for which it was used, and simply resulted in the impoverishment of everybody concerned in it. Moreover, it had a distinctly bad effect upon Ananias and Sapphira, and led to a terrible exercise of autocratic power on the part of Peter the administrator. How should we like a community in which death was awarded for lying? Besides all this, disputes broke out about the sharing of the property, and led to the dissolution of the community. Human nature was too much even for the Apostles. Socialists are welcome to extract what comfort they can out of this instance. It was a limited and local experiment, but within the limits and the locality covered by it, its effects were distinctly mischievous; if a similar experiment could be tried upon a national scale, the effects would be equally disastrous so far as that nation was concerned. This, mind you, is Christian Socialism, pure and exalted in its spirit, lofty and benevolent in its aims, and voluntary in its methods. What, then, would be the probable effects of Atheistic Socialism, immoral and corrupt in its spirit, sordid and malevolent in its aims, and using violent and revolutionary means.

Awhile ago we used the term "Christian Socialists," and we almost owe the reader an apology for so doing. For there is, and can be, no such thing as a Christian Socialist, if the word Socialist be used in its strict and proper sense, *i.e.*, to denote one who believes in, and advocates, the abolition of private property, the nationalisation of land, and the collectivisation of capital. It would be just as reasonable to employ the terms "Christian tyrant," "Christian oppressor," "Christian slave owner," "Christian pirate," "Christian brigand." The one term is the negation of the other. So is Socialism the negation of Christianity. If we would only call things by their proper names, how

much self-deception we should avoid ! By what authority do preachers of Christianity, whether they be Cardinals, Bishops, Canons, Curates, or Nonconformist ministers, undertake to make the religion of Christ responsible for the crudities, the absurdities, and the wickednesses of Socialism ? By no authority but their own. They have no warrant whatever for their conduct in the New Testament. Therefore, let no man, especially no Christian, give heed to them on this matter ; but throw back their heretical teaching in their faces, and brand them as impostors and corruptors of Christian truth. Talk about schism ! What schism is half so censurable as that of the men who teach that Christianity sanctions theft and injustice and tyranny ? Heretics in practice, schismatics in conduct, are these, who deny the plainest teachings of the Lord, and do dishonour to the nature of man. But happily there is that in every man's conscience which gives them the lie ; for every man who has "conscience toward God" knows that it is wrong for others to deprive him of his own ; and no amount of preaching will ever convince him otherwise. The human conscience, the unsophisticated intellect of man, the experience of all ages, are all, equally with the Word of God, opposed to Socialism and its teachers.

A few months ago a German clergyman explained to the "Evangelical Social Congress" that he had "embraced the doctrines of Socialism in order to reconcile Social Democracy with Christianity." That man has never understood Christianity ; he has never come within a thousand miles of its true meaning. Yet he is a type of thousands ! Is it any wonder that Christianity makes slow progress whilst it is burdened with the incubus of such advocates as these ? Another speaker at this Congress, Pastor Naumann, of Frankfort, "advocated a return from the Roman law conception of the rights of private ownership to the old German conception of the rights of communal ownership." It never seems to have occurred to him to ask where the Roman conception came from. Besides, what have Christian

teachers to do with Roman or German conceptions as such? Their concern should be with the Christian conception of the rights of property. Let them comprehend and expound that, and then perchance they will discover that it is the original of all that is true and worthy in the others. At the same congress "the conviction was very generally expressed that the Church could only save its influence by identifying itself more closely with the interests of labour." Just so. The Church, to these gentlemen, means a certain number of comfortable positions and incomes, and the saving of its influence to them means the saving of these. But other people will say, perish the Church and its influence, rather than that they should be preserved at the expense of common sense and common honesty. The Church of Christ must learn the deep meaning of the Lord's great saying: "Whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it."

The Congress above alluded to was a Protestant Congress. But a similar movement is at work among the Roman Catholic clergy of Germany, who, like some of their Protestant neighbours, "appear to have persuaded themselves that the only means of resisting Social Democracy is to adopt its Utopias." A very Irish way of resisting it, truly! A number of Catholic priests have signed "a scheme of Catholic social reform," which claims that the working classes have a right "to a remunerative, assured, and gradually rising scale of employment," together with "a progressive reduction of the hours of labour"; but how the working classes are to receive these rights is not stated.

"Christian Socialism" is very active in England. But the movement now thus denominated is entirely different from that which was known under the same name in the time of Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley. Those men were Christian social reformers, not Christian Socialists; for whilst they condemned competition, and wished to substitute for it co-operation both in production and distribution, they did not advocate the abolition of

private property and the appropriation of land and capital by the State ; nor could they have looked with anything but abhorrence upon the filthy and beastly teachings of modern Socialists with regard to marriage and the family. What concord hath Canon Scott-Holland with Canon Kingsley ? Or Archdeacon Farrar with F. D. Maurice ? Or Stewart Headlam and Canon Shuttleworth with Thomas Hughes ? One has only to read the latest production of these "Christian Socialists"* to measure the depths of inanity and imbecility to which they have fallen. What could be more humiliating than for Canons and Archdeacons to proclaim from the Christian pulpit the fallacies and foolishnesses of Socialism, and to put forth the nauseating mess in the name of Christ ? It is as bad as blasphemy. Archdeacon Farrar says : "All men are our brothers." Yes : but in what sense ? Does Dr. Farrar regard the first man he meets in the street exactly as he regards his own brother, and treat him in the same way ? Not he. Therefore he uses words in an unreal sense. Are a man's sons his brothers ? If so, in what sense ? And are American Indians his brothers in the same sense, or in some different one ? Again, the Archdeacon says : "Many a man in his affection and service of his family, forgets that he belongs also to the collective being." This is very like chiding people for making their families and homes their chief concern. But what saith the Scripture ? "If a man provide not for those of his own household, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." The man who loves and serves his family, does serve, and serves best, "the collective being." The Rev. R. L. Ottley states that property is "ultimately subject to the control of the community, of the State" ; a false doctrine which he learnt, not of Christ, or of Paul, but from John Stuart Mill. Here again the Roman jurists are taken to task for their blindness, for the author of the sermon on "Commercial Morality" condemns them

*"Lombard Street in Lent," a volume of sermons.

for teaching "a theory of the absolute right of private property in the un-Christian sense that a man has a right to do what he likes with his own"; which doctrine the Roman lawyers never did teach, for when a man in doing what he liked with his own defrauded others or interfered with their liberties they sharply punished him. What the Roman jurists did teach was that a man could do what he liked with his own so long as he did not attack or wrong others, which is both common-sense and better Christianity than that of these sermon-writers. Roman jurisprudence loved justice, respected it, administered and enforced it; and herein Christianity is at one with it. "Nevertheless, the Foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are His: and let every one that nameth the Name of Christ, *stand aloof from injustice.*"* That is death to "Christian Socialism."

The "Christian Socialist" Society proclaims its objects as being the "substitution of a system of production for use for the present system of production for profit, the organisation of society on a basis of industry and moral worth rather than of wealth, privilege, and monopoly, as at present; industry being understood to comprise both mental and manual work: the public control of land, capital, and all means of production, distribution, and exchange, involving the abolition of all interest." And for these crazy ideas Jesus Christ and His religion are made responsible; for the "Christian Socialists" say that their ideal is found in Christ. Of course, reasonable and righteous men, in so far as they believe the Christian religion to be faithfully represented by Socialists, are estranged from that religion. If the Church of Christ is to be identified with the folly and the fraud of Socialism, its doom is sealed; its Founder would Himself disown and curse it.†

* 2 Timothy, 2-19.

† In an advertisement which appeared in *The Church Reformer*, in January, 1883, a journal called *The Christian*

In a former portion of this work we remarked upon the astonishing spectacle of a body of Congregational ministers, presumably cultured and rational men, sitting at the feet of an illiterate agitator like Mr. Ben Tillett on economic questions, and we quoted some specimens of the wisdom of their chosen teacher. Another demagogue of the same type is Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., who is a Socialist of the most fanatical type. Both these men, if they do not trade upon their religion, parade their connection with religious organisations in a very ostentatious manner, the result being that they are invited to preach in chapels and address ecclesiastical assemblies. As they are adepts in the art of *suppressio veri*, and experts in presenting one side of the case in a vague and plausible manner which has a great charm for some minds, the effect is that some even of the very elect are deceived; good, simple people who know nothing of the true spirit and aims of Socialists are led to impulsively avow themselves Socialists; whereas they are in truth nothing of the sort, and would shrink from the system in horror if they only realised what it involved. It is scarcely too much to say that Socialism is being advocated under false pretences in many churches and religious periodicals, and for this so-called leaders of the Christian Church must be held responsible. They are preparing future trouble for themselves, and, what is even more serious, they are inflicting vital injury upon the Church of their Lord. "They have sown the wind; they shall reap the whirlwind."

The editor of a widely-circulated Nonconformist journal,

Socialist was described as "the official organ of the Christian Socialist Society" and as "a journal for those who work and think, which, while maintaining the Christian spirit upon which the teachings of Maurice and Kingsley were based, does not hesitate to advance the principles of Socialism with all the significance which has been added to that term by the patient economic investigations of such men as Lassalle, Karl Marx, and Henry George."

being wishful to instruct his readers on Socialism (or to add to them by throwing his net in Socialistic waters), invited Mr. Keir Hardie to set forth his views in his columns. Whereupon that gentleman breaks forth in the following style:—"Socialism is chiefly an economic question with a moral basis. Men are suffering because they have violated the moral law of economics, and Socialism proposes to put this right by insisting on the true moral law being found and applied. (If I were a leader I would say 'ethical principle' when I meant 'moral law.') Mankind is learning that the laws of economics can no more be violated with impunity than can the laws of sanitation. *Nemo me impune lacessit* is the motto of Law as well as of Scotland.

"On the evils of our present industrial system I need not dwell; these are known and deplored by most—though long usage has inured us to them in such a way that we are inclined to accept them as part of the inevitable. Thanks, however, to the 'Man in the Street' and the Prophet in his chamber, the apathy of smug respectability is being invaded, and the public conscience is becoming restive, and men are asking what is to be done that the blood of the poor may no longer stain the hem of our national garments. The politician has no answer to give—he is waiting to catch the voice of the people. The preacher, too, is silent or speaks in muffled tones, not well knowing what answer is expected from him. He, poor man, has been so long swaddled in the ceremonies of a lifeless theology that all quickening power has gone out from him. Once again, therefore, in the world's history it is to the 'agitator' who sees and feels, and speaks as he sees and feels, that Church and State are alike looking for guidance. The voice of the people is still the voice of God, though it may not be the still small voice as heard of old. What is the message, then, that the Man at the Street Corner has for this generation? Unchecked competition and the triumphal progress of

“the science of applied mechanics have between them
“endowed mankind with the power of fabled Midas. The
“power to produce wealth has begotten the desire for its
“possession, till this has come to usurp the place of all the
“higher and finer attributes. Manhood, motherhood,
“childhood, are alike ruthlessly sacrificed at the shrine of
“the God Mammon. Rest and quiet have become tradi-
“tions of a bygone time, and have been relegated to the
“world beyond the grave as if they had no rightful place on
“earth. The beauties and inspiration of nature are a
“sealed book to the townsman, the only glimpses obtain-
“able being once or twice a year from the windows of a
“dirty, overcrowded, excursion train. The mind of the
“countryman is so occupied with the dull routine of his
“daily task, to which is added the degrading fear of the
“squire and his satellites, that there is room for nothing
“else. While behind all else stands the bent form of the
“aged worker seeking entrance to the living tomb of the
“modern workhouse, and of the gaunt, haggard man in the
“prime of life denied the opportunity of earning the bread
“for lack of which his children cry daily and perish.

“It is against all this that the Man in the Street protests
“and cries aloud. His cry may be, often is, incoherent
“and inarticulate. Frequently it takes the form of blind
“cursing at everything and everybody, but at least it is the
“language of protest. Nor is he in this without precedent.
“The twenty-third chapter of Matthew’s Gospel contains
“some strong language spoken at a street corner by way
“of protest by One who felt more than He could utter.

“What is it the voice of the Democracy demands?
“Human love, brotherliness, sympathy, justice; and it is
“because Socialism promises the realisation of these aspira-
“tions of the human heart that men are turning to it—
“some consciously, more by intuition. The barrenness of
“commercialism is repellent to humanity. The spiritual
“and emotional side of human nature withers and shrivels
“up under its baneful influence. Healthy competition, we

“are told, is necessary to the progress and development of
“the race; but the competition of to-day is unhealthy, and
“the progress it develops is the curse of the poor. Better
“far to have less of this feverish anxiety after progress, and
“a more natural, if more slow, development of the sciences.
“The one thing indispensable is the development of life,
“and it is this which present-day competition is destroying.

“*I claim for Socialism that it is the embodiment of Christianity in our industrial system.* The underlying cause of
“every evil we suffer from to-day is that individuals gain by
“the sacrifices of the community. Socialism would make
“this impossible. The landlord—be he ever so humane at
“heart—must have his rent, else he and his become
“paupers; the capitalist must drive his men on to keep
“pace with those of his neighbours; must try to obtain
“orders, even at the cost of underselling his neighbours,
“and thereby bringing about a reduction in wages. If he
“can’t sell his goods, his capital brings him no return, and
“without this return he must go to the workhouse to keep
“the rentless landlord company. Land, therefore, can only
“be cultivated so long as it brings rent to the landlord, and
“factories are only kept going so long as they bring interest
“to the capitalist. Unless farming and the manufacturing
“industries bring rent and interest to the landlord and the
“capitalist, the common people are not allowed to grow
“themselves food or produce themselves clothing. If any
“one challenges this way of stating the case, I point to our
“naked and hungry thousands of unemployed and ask,
“What mean these? Under Socialism land and industrial
“capital would not belong to individuals, but to the com-
“munity as a whole. The people would see to it that *their*
“land was used to grow such food as they required, and
“that *their* works were kept going so long as they required
“clothing, furniture, books, etc., and *their* mines being
“worked in such a way as to ensure a constant and full
“supply of coal. Men would not then compete one with
“another to win or keep the favour of an employer that

“they might retain their situation, but would co-operate
“one with the other in producing the necessities of life.
“Selfishness would tend to die out, since the selfish man
“would only earn the contempt of his neighbours, without
“the compensating gain of gold which may be his to-day.
“The mind, freed from the carking care or feverish anxiety
“which continually broods over it to-day, would turn to
“higher and better things, and the stream of life would
“thus be purified at its source, and religion, pure and
“undefiled, once more regain her sway.”*

It would, of course, be a mere waste of powder and shot to treat all this froth as argument, worthy of serious refutation; but it is easy to discern how much mischief may be done by it among inexperienced youths, emotional women, and men of ill-balanced minds. How much Mr. Keir Hardie knows of Socialism may be judged from the fact that he speaks of “Voluntary Socialists” who, nevertheless, believe in State regulation and interference, and that he holds that Socialism would not abolish family life, and would leave each man free to use his faculties and spend his earnings as he pleased. Mr. Keir Hardie is a politician, and a democratic politician, and therefore it is not surprising that he should exalt the “Man in the Street” into a messenger of God, and irreverently compare him with Jesus Christ; or that he should pronounce the “agitator” to be the true teacher of both Church and State; or that he should regard the delirium of fevered multitudes as the source of a new Divine oracle. It is a much more serious matter, however, that hysterical ravings of this sort should be sanctioned and endorsed, tacitly if not avowedly, by men of position and authority in the Christian Church. Many of these, too, accept and teach the democratic doctrine, as un-Scriptural as it is irrational, that the voice of the Majority is the voice of God, and that the “Man at the Street Corner” (usually a drunken and loafing vagabond),

* *The British Weekly*, January 18, 1894.

though he is often "incoherent and inarticulate," blindly "cursing at everything and everybody," expresses the mind of Christ. Is it any marvel that men who think for themselves, and who form their conception of Christianity from the teachings of Christ and His Apostles, are being alienated from Churches which are deeply sunken in Apostacy?

There is grave reason to complain of lack of explicitness in the utterances of Christian teachers upon this whole question. Like the politicians they play fast and loose with the word Socialism, now using it in one sense and then in another, always shrinking from definition, so that it is impossible to nail them down to any given meaning. Everything is left in a nebulous state, so that each man selects whatever sense of the term may suit him. This is a form of deceit and fraud to which Christians ought not to stoop. They, above all men, should say what they mean and mean what they say; their yea should be yea, and their nay, nay; they should leave it to other disputants to palter with a double sense. When they wish merely to condemn social wrongs and inequalities which are palpably unjust and indefensible, and which can be remedied with benefit to some and without injustice to any, they should make it clear what they do condemn and why they condemn it. When they advocate social reforms, they ought to describe the nature and limits of those reforms, and not fly off at a tangent and proclaim themselves Socialists when they are not, and have no intention of being, anything of the kind. It is necessary to always discriminate between Socialists and Social Reformers; for the latter are the friends of Progress, whilst the former are its enemies.

We may take the following as specimens of the nebulous and harmful teaching to which we allude. Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, has recently published a volume of sermons which deals largely with social questions and the relation of Christianity thereto.* The Bishop states that

* "The Incarnation and Common Life."

Socialism involves both a theory of economics and a theory of life, and that while he accepts the latter he rejects the former. Then he proceeds: "The thoughts of a true Socialism—that all men are 'one man' in Christ, sons of God and brethren, suffering and rejoicing together, that each touches all and all touch each with an inevitable influence, that as we live by others we can find no rest till we live for others—are fundamental Christian ideas. . . . Christ took me to Himself when He took humanity to Himself, and I owe myself to those with whom He has united me. . . . Our life is from first to last social. As Christians we are 'one man in Christ Jesus,' and in this fellowship we gain the unity which is prepared for all." This is Christian truth, finely expressed, but why need it be described as "a true Socialism?" The effect is misleading. It is not Socialism at all; it is, when understood in all its depth and fulness, and in its true relations, antagonistic to Socialism. But no doubt many of Dr. Westcott's readers will be induced from his mode of expression to assume that Socialism is as lovely and as beneficent in its character as Christianity itself. The Bishop's anxiety to apply the principles of the Gospel to social questions is laudable enough, but it does not justify him in confounding the teachings of Christ with Socialism. Such a fault on the part of a man in his position is more than a fault. Christianity and Socialism are distinct from each other; not only distinct, but antagonistic; fundamentally they have nothing in common. Where one lives and flourishes the other must wither and die. Christians can never be Socialists, nor Socialists Christians.

Take another example. The Bishop of Salisbury, preaching in his Cathedral in September, 1886, said: "Even what might be called the innocent luxury of the wealthy was a sore and terrible trial to the starving and often uncomplaining masses of the poor. 'Why should there be this measureless contrast, this unequal distribution of good things?' That was a question which they asked and

asked again, and if no sufficient reply were made, there would gradually be gathered up in many hearts such a flood of bitter resentment as would sweep away in a revolution all that we called society and civilisation. To that question there was only one answer that could be made with any approach to reasonableness. *God had made the lots of life unequal that the rich might help the poor.*" Dr. Wordsworth also expressed his belief that the angels appeared to the shepherds at Bethlehem because they were the chosen representatives of the poor. Upon this the *Spectator* pertinently remarked: "Does he also think that the wise men of the East were the chosen representatives of the rich? To make of poverty, *quâ* poverty, a moral claim to the love of God, seems to us as unwarrantable as to make one of ugliness. The soul surely must be independent of those accidents. Christ died for mankind, not for the poor, or the rich, or even the middle-class." Now the Bishop of Salisbury's sympathy with the poor is wholly commendable. But what warrant has he for saying that the luxury, even the "innocent" luxury, of the wealthy, is "a sore and terrible trial" to them? None whatever. As a matter of fact the statement is incorrect; for the "masses of the poor" do not regard the innocent luxury of the wealthy as a sore and terrible trial, or as any trial at all, though some among them may do so. Again, what right has the Bishop to say that if the inequalities of society are not accounted for the people will, in their "bitter resentment," destroy society and civilization by a Revolution? Such language might well be taken by uninstructed people to justify, not only envy and resentment against their richer neighbours, but also riot and pillage. It is precisely the kind of language that Mr. Keir Hardie's "Man at the Street Corner," who blindly and incoherently and inarticulately curses everything and everybody, might have used had he got into the pulpit, but which we certainly do not expect from a grave and learned prelate. If the Bishop of Salisbury had stated that both poverty and wealth are accidents, the latter

condition having more serious moral risks than the former, he would have stated what was true; but in stating that poverty in itself constitutes a claim to the love of God, and at the same time justifies those who suffer from it in envying and coveting their richer neighbours' goods, he stated what is distinctly untrue and positively mischievous.

Here is another beautiful piece of nonsense: "Much of the theoretical philosophical Socialism of Germany especially is a system of pedants, built up by cold logic, starting from economic definitions, often false, stitching a straight waistcoat of thought to confine many-sided life. In such there is no spiritual breath, no life panting to realise itself. *But with the Socialism which is the fruit of Divine philanthropy, it is otherwise.* The Socialism of living, loving visionaries, dreamers of dreams whose hearts are on fire by the miseries of the present and the glories of the future, the Socialism which represents the heart hunger of the race, the pitiful cry for that something we need which we have not, the contempt for the present and the present good, and the faith in a future change which will bring beauty for ashes—with that, Christianity has sympathy and touch."* There is no such thing as "Socialism which is the fruit of Divine philanthropy," or "which represents the heart hunger of the race"; consequently the language expresses no idea, no meaning; it is pretty twaddle, and nothing more. But it is open to exactly the same objections as that of the Bishop of Durham.

One more example will suffice: "The Bible is wholly Socialistic, it is the Book for the poor, the suffering, the oppressed. The laws given under Moses were on the side of the stranger, the widow, and the fatherless. The farmer was told to leave some of the grain, a little corner of the field, for the poor. The vine and the olive-tree were to have a reserve for the poor. The long line of prophets were ever on the side of the poor. And, coming to the

* Rev. Hugh Black, *British Weekly*, Feb. 1, 1894.

New Testament, one of the first consequences of the spread of the Gospel was that people came to look down to the poor and to think of helping them. The first foreign missionary, Paul, was on the side of the people. 'Masters,' said he, 'give unto your servants that which is equal.' The Bible throughout is eminently Socialistic; it is against all tyranny, all selfishness. But the men who take the Bible have to take also the God of the Bible. If a man wants to do without God he is like a man ploughing without horses, or without any force external to himself to help him move the plough. A true Socialist should discern that Jesus Christ is at the head and heart of Socialism. He sprang from the people, lived for years in a poor cottage, and worked as a carpenter. When He came forth from His obscurity, and 'went about doing good,' 'the common people' came around Him and 'heard Him gladly.' He condescended with tenderness to the lost and abandoned, and they were melted by His compassion. Jesus was ever on the side of the needy and the oppressed. When questions arose between them and their rulers which pressed heavily on the people, Jesus took up their cause. Christianity as represented in the Bible and by Christ is wholly Socialistic in its character."*

Here we have a series of flagrant mis-statements, such as that the Bible is Socialistic, "wholly Socialistic"; that "Jesus Christ is at the head and heart of Socialism"; and that "Christianity is *wholly* Socialistic in its character." But it is evident from the sermon that the preacher, whilst talking about one thing, all the time meant another and a different thing. He spoke of Socialism, but he evidently did not know what it was. Whilst the people who attend places of worship are thus misled and bewildered by their teachers how can they either think clearly or act intelligently?

* Sermon on "The True Theory and Practice of Socialism," by Rev. A. Norris, preached at West Kensington Congregational Church, reported in *Christian World*.

It is certain that the ministers and members of Christian Churches who accept Socialism in its entirety form an inconsiderable proportion of those who are connected with these institutions. But they are an active and aggressive section, ready to trade alike upon the benevolence of their Christian brethren towards the poor or to co-operate with Atheists in order to achieve their objects, and therefore their influence is out of all proportion to their numbers. The serious and sufficient fact, however, is that there are Christian men and women, not a few of whom are preachers and teachers, who are avowed, ostentatious, militant Socialists—Socialists in the sense that they accept the full programme of the Social Democratic Federation.* Whether they are few or many is a fact which is relatively insignificant. As these people are usually of more than average intelligence we must assume that they know what they are doing; that they have embraced Socialism deliberately, with full knowledge of its nature and of its certain consequences; and that they are prepared to take the full responsibility of their action. Nevertheless, it would appear necessary to ask whether they have, after all, considered the matter all round, and realised what is involved in their acceptance of Socialism and in their attempts to exalt it to a position scarcely inferior to that of the Gospel itself.

* During the coal strike of 1893 the writer heard the Rev. Dr. Clifford lecture in the Central Hall, Oldham-street, Manchester, on "Social Gospels." The lecture was merely a tirade against coal-owners, landowners, and capitalists generally, and a proclamation of Socialism in its most flagrant, extreme, and unrighteous form. All land and capital were to be confiscated, etc. This sorry stuff was applauded by the audience, and eulogised by the minister of the place, who presided. This is a sample of what is going on in churches and mission halls. It is a marvel that wealthy laymen will support such a propaganda.

In the first place, their conduct clearly amounts to a confession of the impotency of the Gospel to regenerate society ; that is to say, it is virtually a denial of the supremacy of Christ and of His religion. A true Christian is one who believes in the pre-eminence of Christ in all things, and who holds that the Gospel of Christ is morally omnipotent, that "it is the Power of God unto salvation" and "the Wisdom of God" unto edification. Such a Christian would be ashamed to dishonour his Lord by placing Him on an equality with Socialistic teachers, or even by admitting that He needs the co-operation of such "workers of iniquity;" still more would he disdain to confess that the Church of Christ has proved itself to be incapable of regenerating the world, and that the task which it has failed to accomplish can be successfully achieved by Socialism. All this, and nothing less than this, is implied in the mistaken policy of those Christians who turn to Socialism as the saviour of society. They virtually confess that the claims of their religion are false ; that the mission of their Church has been a failure ; that the pretensions of their Lord are deceptive. For, mark you, Socialism is not analogous to social reform ; it is not something which can be deduced from the Gospel, and which therefore can be worked in harmony with it and as supplementary to it. Either it is a substitute for the Gospel or it is nothing ; it must either supplant the Gospel or be destroyed by it. The two are so essentially antagonistic that they must be mutually destructive ; there is not room in any man's belief or conduct, or in any society, for both. But if Socialism is so supremely important, how is it that Christ, who came and died to save the world, and who established His Church to regenerate mankind, has nothing to say of it ? How is it that His Apostles, who were the chosen depositaries of His innermost truth and His elect ambassadors, never so much as hint at it ? The truth is that Socialism is absolutely Pagan in its origin and conception ; in its ideas and its aims ; and therefore the Christian religion can have neither part nor lot in it. Christ

hath no concord with Karl Marx. We cannot serve Christianity and Socialism.

Again : it never seems to occur to those Christians who advocate Socialism that in so doing they are identifying the Church of Christ, a spiritual body with spiritual aims, with that which is political and materialistic, nay, with that which is carnal and animalistic. The weapons of the Christian warfare are not carnal ; the weapons of the Socialistic warfare are eminently so. Christianity is a spirit, a life, a Divine power working in the silent deeps of the human heart ; Socialism is a policy, a programme, a bubble upon the surface of man's existence. Christ's kingdom is not of this world, nor is it with the things of this world that it is chiefly concerned ; Socialism is of this world, it has never seen or dreamed of another, and the things of this world fill its thought. The purpose of Christ's religion is to purify man's spirit, to cultivate and discipline the highest within him, to save his life : with it the man's life is the supreme thing ; " The life is more than meat." The purpose of Socialism is to feed man's grosser appetites, to coarsen and embrate him, to debase and destroy the highest within him ; with it the animal life is the supreme thing ; " The meat is more than life." Those disloyal Christians who identify their religion with Socialism, party politics, etc., have failed to realise, not only that they are putting upon the Christian Church work which it was never designed to do, but also that they are degrading the Christian religion to the level of merely political systems. It is not the business of the Church of Christ as such to demand or to undertake political, or sanitary, or even social reforms ; to decide the hours and the wages of labour ; to determine the qualifications of voters, or the principles upon which property shall be distributed, or the method of treating the aged poor ; or any other such like matters. Individual Christians may, and ought, to take part in discussing and deciding these matters, and that with a large degree of freedom, provided always that they observe and obey the teachings of their

Lord; but their Church, as a Church, has nothing to do with them. "The religious are bound to work for the good of their fellows, but if the term Socialism is to have any definite meaning at all, it is as absurd to prefix the epithet Christian to it as it would be to talk of a Christian theory of high farming or of a Christian system of drainage."* Socialism as a philosophy, or a science, or a system of economics, we can understand and deal with; but "Christian" Socialism is a fraud and an abomination.

"Social Christianity" is a hybrid, a monstrosity, produced by the union of spurious religion with false sociology. There is no such thing. It is unknown to, and is disowned by, the New Testament. The only possible moral unit is the individual, and with that alone Christianity deals, that alone it knows. Men are never saved in companies; but always one by one. The Christian religion greatens the individual at every point. There is a tendency in modern theology to dwarf the importance of the individual; to exalt the Church at his expense. This is another fruit of Socialism, and the tendency is most pronounced in Germany, where Socialism is more dominant. "*It is characteristic of our time that in theology as well as in politics the individual withers, and the race is more and more.*" The school of Ritschl, for instance, which is dominating Protestant Germany and has begun to influence our own younger preachers, lays immense stress on the function of the Christian Society, as the only channel by which salvation comes to separate souls. Now religious and political ideals react on each other. We may expect that a collectivist view of the Church will incline men's minds to corresponding conceptions of the State. Probably the highest Churchmen in England to-day include those who are most ready to confess themselves Socialists."†

What heresy is this! Through what channel of Christian

* H. H. Champion, *British Weekly*, Feb. 8, 1894.

† *British Weekly*, June 7, 1894.

Society did salvation come to the Apostle Paul, or to those who believed as the result of his preaching at Athens and Phillipi ; or to those who believed as the result of Phillip's preaching at Samaria ? These men would turn the Church into a sort of religious Trade Union, and deny the benefits of God's grace to all outside its pale. Thus is Socialism destroying the true Christian ideal !

The results of this " Social Christianity " are both curious and serious. If it were not serious it would be amusing to see men like Canon Scott-Holland, Rev. H. Price Hughes, and Dr. Clifford, vigorously denouncing capitalists, who are quite as good Christians as they are themselves, because they wish to manage their own business in their own way ; bespattering with praises working men whose principal merit is that they will live in idleness, or on charity, rather than work for the market rate of wages ; and eloquently propounding chimerical panaceas for all our social ills in sublime disregard of the principles of common-sense, of common honesty, and of the moral and economical laws of the universe. The gravity of the situation is that ministers of this class are driving out of the churches those who have something to lose, that is to say, people of intelligence and character, and position, and alienating them from Christ. " Social Christianity," if it goes on as it is now doing, will soon denude the churches of all their elements of strength and leave them with nothing but a Socialistic rabble. In this matter English churches and their ministers may well learn a lesson from Australia, where " Social Christianity " has been tried on a large scale. The effects are thus described by Mr. G. P. Doolette, a devout and earnest layman, who has the high commendation of Dr. R. W. Dale :

" I said but now we were a community of Churches ; may I ask why we do exist ? Is it not that we may be the " repositories of evangelical truth, that we should in our " membership be living witnesses for the Lord Jesus among " men ? That our communion and fellowship should be " the cities of refuge for the distressed and sin-burdened of

“humanity, that in coming into fellowship with us men
“should gain a higher conception of life and duty, a fuller
“realisation of the Divine Love, and a quickening of im-
“pulse towards all that is holy, pure, and Christlike? But
“what do we find? Many of our ministers treating the
“gospel of the blessed God as though it were effete, and
“preaching instead the iniquity of private ownership of land,
“taxation, Bible-reading in schools, wages, strikes, and any-
“thing that will catch the popular ear or tickle the popular
“taste. The sanctity of the temple is profaned, and instead
“of the stillness of reverent devotion, we have our Churches
“ringing with the echoes of Parliament, the Debating
“Society, and the political meeting. A pernicious socialism
“is being promulgated under the guise of sociology; our
“churches are being made the vantage-ground for political
“contention. Vital godliness is becoming a dead letter—
“spirituality of life an unknown experience. Men are being
“taught to believe that to *have* is more important than to
“*be*—that possession is more than character; humanity is
“to be regenerated by better conditions; that general
“welfare is more urgent than individual rightness; that
“reliance in governments is better than trust in God. The
“gospel is pushed aside for sociology, and those who should
“be its heralds and champions have become expounders of
“political economy. I do not deny to our ministers the
“rights of private citizenship, but I do deny to them the
“right to make the Christian pulpit the platform for the
“spread of pet political nostrums, for by so doing they are
“prostituting their sacred office.

“A minister of the gospel said to a friend of mine a short
“time ago, that ‘were the Lord Jesus Christ on earth to-
“day, He would be more likely to be found enjoying the
“pleasures of the smoke social than taking part in the
“Church’s prayer meeting.’ Now this is one of the straws
“which show the way the stream is flowing; but is it true?
“Does it accord with the true ideas of our Lord’s conduct?
“If so, then we must have been wrong in our conceptions

“ of His sublime character and the controlling principles of His life ; but I have not so learned Christ, and I am sure the major part of my hearers have not so learned Christ, and the statement therefore can go no further than to illustrate the vitiating influence of that spirit against which I am contending.

“ I am not concerned just now with the influence of modern democracy on State interests, although, in all conscience, it is serious enough, as witness the desolated homes, the starving families, and the armies of unemployed which are to be found in every city of Christendom. It is sowing the wind and will reap the whirlwind. But I am anxious that the sentiment and conscience of our Christian commonwealth shall be stirred to resist the insidious poison which is being injected into its system day by day. The aim of spiritual Christianity is to elevate men, to raise them to a higher plane of moral and material well-being ; but the drift of the socialism of to-day is to level downward, to crush every sentiment of honour, to do violence to every principle of justice ; and the pity of it is that men calling themselves Christians, and sustaining the pastor's office, should be found in the van of the movement. No wonder that we are mourning over empty Churches, depleted treasuries, and a waning interest in all matters pertaining to Church life and work. No wonder that instead of peace and concord a spirit of bitterness and strife is eating like a canker into our midst, paralysing Christian effort and choking the stream of philanthropy. And what are we getting in return ? Nothing but apples of Sodom. One by one the strands which hold us to a sublime faith, to a purer morality, to a larger hope, are being loosened, and if we are not careful we shall soon find ourselves adrift on a sea of doubt, despair, and desolation.”*

If English Christians desire to see their Churches re-

* *British Weekly*, Jan. 11, 1894.

duced and degraded to the condition of those in Australia they have but to use the same means, and this some of them are at present doing with all the zeal that they can command. If ever there was a device of Satan, and a successful one, "Christian" Socialism is such a device; for by means of it the Evil One has persuaded multitudes of people that the Church of Christ has failed to answer the purpose of its Founder, and has thus effectually discredited both the Church and its Lord. The marvel is that ministers of Christ should be so unwary as to virtually co-operate with the Adversary, who is in this instance "transformed into an angel of light."

Certain of the "Christian" Socialists are, however, getting a little uneasy with respect to some of the ultimate developments of Socialism, especially as regards marriage and family life. Even the gorge of the Rev. Stewart Headlam rises at the teachings of the "scientific" Socialists on this subject, and he has proved that he can swallow a good deal that other people would think nauseous. In the *Church Reformer* for January, 1887, Mr. Headlam, while avowing his willingness to co-operate with all Socialists, even with Atheists, felt constrained to put some very anxious and pointed questions to those of the "scientific" school. He said: "Unless we have misunderstood the statements of some of the leaders of the so-called Scientific Socialists there will be very soon a wide gulf between us and them. Mr. Marson, in an article in the December number of *To-Day*, entitled 'Christian Socialism *versus* Satyr Socialists,' has we think made it fairly clear that on the sexual question the Christian Socialists will have to part company with some of their Scientific friends, though we do not think he has proved that either the Democratic Federation or the Socialist League are formally committed to the teaching which he so righteously and vigorously denounces.

"On the other hand, Mr. Hyndman in a lecture at the Athenæum Hall on Sunday, December 19th, on 'Socialism

“and the Ten Commandments,’ threw contempt on the
“Fifth Commandment (quite ignoring by the way its bold
“assertion against private property in land), and spoke of
“the ‘cant talked about the family life—man after all being
“but the highest animal, and there being no family life
“among cats and dogs, &c.’ At the same time he claimed
“the right and urged the duty of the State now in many
“cases to take children from their parents ; a remark which
“caused a man in the audience, who apparently had strong
“sympathy with Mr. Hyndman’s economic teaching, to call
“out—‘ If you come and take away my kid, Mr. Hyndman, I
“can tell you I’ll shoot you.’ Now we are quite at one with
“Mr. Hyndman and all others when they shew how utterly
“marred and broken the family life is at present ; we are
“eager to advocate every change in laws or customs which
“will tend to put women on an equality with men ; we know
“how bad the relation of the sexes is at present : but what
“we want to know is, what is the ideal sexual relationship
“at which our Scientific friends are aiming—or if they do
“not like it to be put like that, what kind of relationship
“between the sexes will they tolerate ? It is idle for them
“to say that they cannot tell what will happen in the future,
“that society is evolved, and so forth : certainly we have
“been evolved into our present condition, against which
“these men are fighting nobly : let them tell us what must
“be the relation between the sexes which will satisfy them,
“against which they will not fight. If they will tell us this
“we shall know where we are. . . . If these men
“mean that their ideal is promiscuous intercourse between
“free men and free women, or that the State in the future
“should select men and women for the purpose of breeding
“children, and that indeed the Fifth Commandment should
“be useless, for that no child could know its own father,
“then indeed there is a vast difference between Christian
“Socialists and other Socialists. And then indeed also we
“venture to say, the economic revolution will be delayed
“indefinitely.

“ Nothing, as far as we know English people of all sorts,
 “ but especially those whom the Socialists try to reach,
 “ would so prejudice the reception of Socialist doctrines
 “ as that they should be mixed up with sexual teaching of
 “ this sort. We may have misunderstood Mr. Hyndman’s
 “ teaching on the matter, we hope we have, and that at any
 “ rate Mr. Champion and the Democratic Federation and
 “ Socialist League will speak out plainly so that we may
 “ know how we stand. In any case, it becomes of prime
 “ importance that Christian Socialists should press forward
 “ their work and keep the sacred cause clear from this
 “ corruption.”*

We have not heard that any response was made to Mr. Headlam’s appeal, or that he ever received any satisfactory assurances in answer to his inquiries ; but we know that the “ Scientific ” Socialists have not in any way modified their teachings on these matters, and that they are not likely to do so. Christians who continue to toy and parley with Socialism do so with their eyes open ; they know what it involves.

* Some time ago the Rev. W. Probyn-Nevins wrote to Mr. Hyndman, urging upon him the necessity of disconnecting English Socialism with the anti-Christian Socialism of Germany and France, and also suggesting that the leaders should jointly memorialise the London clergy to help and collect funds for the distress, and received the following letter :—“ 10, Devonshire Street, Portland Place, W., Jan. 21. Dear Sir,—We Social Democrats have found that the ministers of religion in the metropolis, as elsewhere, with a few honourable exceptions, side with the rich and against the poor. This being so, I for one should consider any such memorial from us quite out of place and useless. Social Democrats are no more anti-Christian than anti-Mahomedan, anti-Buddhist, or anti-Confucian. Christianity, as seen in this country, is merely the chloroform agency of the confiscating classes. Consequently the workmen are daily turning more and more against its professors. Yours faithfully, H. M. HYNDMAN. The Rev. W. Probyn-Nevins.”

“Christian” Socialists have won no respect from the general body of Socialists themselves; on the contrary, they are derided by them and held in contempt. A quotation from Mr. Belfort Bax, one of the leaders of the “Scientific” Socialists, will make this clear. He says:

“If on their intellectual side, as theories of the universe, the older religions are a *non possumus* for us, they are this none the less on their moral side. The local and tribal religions of ancient times were encountered by the newly awakened ethical conscience of the individual as such. Much in them which was natural symbolism to his ancestors was repellent to him. *But Christianity itself contains the same opposition in a more developed form. It is useless blinking the fact that the Christian doctrine is more revolting to the higher moral sense of to-day than the Saturnalia or the cult of Proserpine could have been to the conscience of the early Christian.* And more than this, the social and humanistic tendencies of the age, the consciousness of human welfare and human development as ‘our being’s end and aim,’ as the sole object worthy of human devotion, must instinctively shrink from its antithesis, the theological spirit; and this despite the emasculated free Christian and theistic guise in which the latter may appear at the present time. *‘Ye cannot serve God and humanity’ is the burden of the nobler instincts of our epoch.* But here again we see the intrinsic unity of the several aspects of human life. What is it which prevents the realisation—aye, and even in most cases, the conception—of nobler aims, of a higher intellectual, artistic, and moral existence for men? It is a true saying, that though false ideas may be refuted by argument, yet only by true ideas can they be expelled. *The true ideal which alone can effectually exorcise the spectre of the Christian theology from our midst is unfortunately confined to a few.* And why is it so, but because modern civilization is composed of two classes, the worshippers of Capital and the victims of Capital? When ‘success in life’ is the highest ideal of

“ which the majority of men are capable, when the condi-
 “ tion of a higher culture is the freedom which the
 “ possession of Capital alone can afford, we need indeed
 “ scarcely be surprised that it is so. *The higher human ideal*
 “ *stands in opposition at once to Capitalism, the gospel of success,*
 “ *with its refined art of cheating, through the process of exchange,*
 “ *or, in short, to worldliness ; and to Christianity, the gospel of*
 “ *success in a hypothetical other life, or, in short, to other*
 “ *worldliness.* But a glance around at our various bodies
 “ and organizations, charitable or otherwise, of a Christian
 “ character will show that at least two-thirds of modern
 “ Christianity is simply ‘ Capitalism ’ masquerading in a
 “ religious guise. Even where this is not the case, Chris-
 “ tianity is none the less an integral part of the *status quo*.
 “ The privileged classes instinctively feel this. So long as
 “ human aspiration can be kept along the old lines, so long
 “ as the farther gaze of men can be kept directed heaven-
 “ ward to the cloud-shapes of God, Christ, and immortality,
 “ or inward on their own hearts and consciences, and
 “ averted from the earthly horizon of social regeneration,
 “ all will go well. John Bull’s auxiliary, the minister of
 “ the Gospel, or possibly the wife or daughter of John Bull,
 “ must be able to say to him or her who is not blessed with
 “ J. B.’s. share of the good things of this life : ‘ What does
 “ it matter, dear brother or sister ? Why repine ? This
 “ is but for a season, God has placed us in different stations
 “ in this life ; in the life to come, where we shall hope to
 “ meet by and by, all will be well.’ The idea of the dear
 “ brother or sister meeting this consolation in affliction with
 “ the rebuff of Faust—

I care little about the other side,
 If you try first to ruin this world,
 The other may afterwards take rise.

“ or something to the same effect, is naturally repugnant
 “ to the bourgeois mind. No, verily ; this bringing down
 “ of religion from heaven to earth belongs not to the present
 “ civilization of expropriation and privilege !

"And now a word or two on a point dealt with by me more fully elsewhere, to wit, on the ethical contradiction of our epoch. The moral side of Christianity is centred in the notions of individual holiness and responsibility to a supernatural being. This ethical side of Christianity, largely overlaid by other influences during the Middle Ages, with Protestantism came again prominently to the fore, has remained so ever since. But now, with the growing sense among all earnest men of social utility as the end of all human endeavour, an ethic based on the notion of individual likeness to God is in flagrant contradiction, a contradiction which can only be resolved by its formal surrender.

"Lastly, one word on that singular hybrid, the 'Christian Socialist.' Though the word Socialism has not been mentioned, it will have been sufficiently evident that the goal indicated in the present articles is none other than Socialism. *But the association of Christianity with any form of Socialism is a mystery, rivalling the mysterious combination of ethical and other contradictions in the Christian himself.* Notwithstanding that the *soi-disant* Christian Socialist confessedly finds the natural enemies of his Socialism among Christians of all orthodox denomination, still he persists in retaining the designation, while refusing to employ it in its ordinary signification.

"*It is difficult to divine the motive for thus preserving a name which, confessedly, in its ordinary meaning is not only alien, but hostile to the doctrine of Socialism.* Does the 'Free Christian' want a personal object of reverence? We can offer him many such, even now. Let him look eastward at those who have indeed places to lay their heads, aye, and in some cases mansions and estates, but who renounce them and court the slow death of imprisonment in fortresses and Siberian mines, who flinch not at the sword, and whose utmost good fortune is the liberty of preaching their gospel in the dark places of civilization and oftentimes amid a poverty unrelieved by even a Zacchæus.

“ Let them call to mind the massacres of '71, and the Paris
 “ workman, who on being asked for what he was fighting
 “ and dying replied, ‘ Pour la solidarité humaine.’ Or
 “ again, let them think of the aged Delecluze closing a life
 “ of untiring devotion at the barricades, in harness to the
 “ last. *Must we forever insult the living and lately dead by*
 “ *falling back for our ideal upon the first century?* Do noble-
 “ ness and devotion, indeed, require to be mellowed by the
 “ ‘ dim religious light ’ of ages before we can recognise them
 “ as such? This, however, by the way. Our contention is
 “ the following: If by Christianity he meant the body of
 “ dogma usually connoted by the word, it will probably be
 “ conceded by those to whom we refer that it is in hostility
 “ to progress. If, on the other hand, this be not meant,
 “ but merely the ethical principles Christianity is supposed
 “ to embody, then even if these principles were distinctly
 “ and exclusively Christian, which they are not, we chal-
 “ lenge them to show their connection, or even their com-
 “ patibility with Socialism. If, again, they fail in this, as
 “ fail they must, the whole matter is resolved into one of
 “ sentiment, and for the sake of retaining a catchword, for
 “ such it is, and no more, under these circumstances, they
 “ would compromise principles, and throw a sop to respecta-
 “ bility in its most hypocritical form. To say nothing of
 “ the thousands in Europe to whom the name Christian is
 “ positively abhorrent, how shall they face the Eastern
 “ world when the time comes for so doing? Only those
 “ who can tell the Moslem, the Buddhist, the Confucian,
 “ ‘ We care not for Jesus of Nazareth any more than for
 “ Mahommed, for Gautama, or for Kon-fu-tze; disputes as
 “ to the relative merits or demerits of those teachers are
 “ vain as they are endless ’; only those who can say, ‘ We
 “ know of greater men than these—greater, inasmuch as
 “ they have not posed as great teachers, but have contented
 “ themselves with the rank of humble and equal workers—
 “ who came in the form of neither God nor prophet, but of
 “ the humanity whose religion is human welfare, not the

“welfare of a class or a race, but of the whole; whose doctrine is its attainment, through human solidarity, or, in other words—Socialism’; only those, we repeat, will ever obtain the ear of the Orient, *and never they who come in the hated and blood-stained name of Christianity*—name indicative of racial and religious rivalry. What in earlier phases of human evolution has been accomplished as in pre-human evolution by the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence—in other words, what has been hitherto accomplished physically or unconsciously, must, in the future, be done physically or consciously; the struggle for existence must give place to co-operation for existence; and this co-operation, though in one sense the result of economical revolution, implies, on another side, a correlative change in the basis of ethics and religion. Then, and not till then, will the contradiction of our age be resolved in the unity of a fuller and more complete life than any yet experienced by humanity.”

It now remains to glance briefly at the positive teaching of Christ and His Apostles upon the subject. And, firstly, it may be remarked that the nature of the Christian religion is such as to afford a strong antecedent probability that it would be antagonistic to Socialism. The whole genius of that religion is individualistic. If any man ever stood alone in this world, lived a life apart from his fellows, was conscious that all existing social conditions were against him, and set himself to oppose and overthrow those conditions, that man was the Founder of Christianity. What is His example, therefore, but the most signal and splendid illustration of Individualism that has ever been seen in human history? He was One Man against the world; and He conquered it.

Moreover, no other Teacher ever recognised and emphasized the dignity, the value, the importance of the individual as Jesus Christ did. It was He Who said: “There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over *one sinner* that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just

persons which need no repentance ;” Who spake the parable of the Prodigal Son ; Who graciously accepted the devotion of that “ woman of the city ” who was “ a sinner ;” Who commended the humble publican and condemned the proud Pharisee ; Who everywhere perceived and exalted personal worth. Never was there a Teacher who so penetrated to the heart of things ; who so ruthlessly stripped men of the trappings of wealth and rank and gazed at their naked spirits : never one who took so little account of the many and made so much of the few, or who so despised popular applause and support. He never counted heads, or solicited votes, or asked men to be His disciples. In His magnificent solitariness He taught the truth, and left it to plough men’s hearts, test their characters, and divide them into the good and the evil, fructifying the lives of the one class, blasting the lives of the other. In His method of choosing His Apostles His Individualism stands out grandly. He did not advertise or appeal ; nor seek the patronage of the rich, the religious, the exalted. He saw Matthew sitting at the receipt of custom, and Peter and James and Andrew fishing, and in His simple, commanding way said : “ Follow Me,” and they, recognising His Divine mandate, “ left all and followed Him.” And the men He chose were the very last men that the organised religionists, the Socialists of the day, would have thought of. It is inconceivable that such a Teacher should give any sanction to Socialism.

As a matter of fact, secondly, He has not done this. From beginning to end there is nothing in His doctrine that contains any germ or even suggestion of Socialistic teaching ; nor can anything be discovered in His conduct that has such a tendency. A Poor Man, and pre-eminently the Friend of the poor, He yet uttered no word of envy respecting the rich ; and the one sin against which He most persistently warned His disciples was covetousness. He formulated no system of social philosophy ; propounded no doctrine of equality ; advocated no new scheme as to the distribution of wealth. Evermore He taught that the things of this world,

even when largely possessed and rightly employed, were of small account. What He preached He practised. His Apostles were of His spirit ; they taught the same truths ; they lived the same life.

The fact that Jesus and His Apostles had a common fund, though it is often adduced in support of Communism, really proves nothing ; unless it can also be proved that the example of the Apostles in forsaking their homes and occupations is binding upon us. But that would be contrary to reason. For what state of things should we have if every person who believed in Christ were to turn his back upon his previous avocation, his home, and his friends ? Besides, we know that some of these same Apostles had private property, and were indeed in comfortable circumstances. It is evident, moreover, that some of the intimate friends of Jesus, like the sisters Mary and Martha, were comparatively wealthy ; for on one occasion he was anointed with " genuine and exceeding costly " perfume, worth about ten pounds in our money. The incidental statement that Lazarus was buried in a tomb hewn in the rock suggests that the family must have been one of wealth and position. Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, Nathaniel, Zaccheus, and the Apostle John, clearly were not poor men. In Apostolic times there were believers in the Imperial household at Rome ; Joanna, the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, was a Christian ; Lydia, the first European convert, was the head of a profitable business ; and it is evident from certain incidental touches in the Epistles to the Corinthians that some of the members of the church at Corinth were wealthy.

With regard to the direct teaching of Christ, it is entirely and unmistakably against Socialism. His treatment of the rich young landowner who came to Him for counsel has been much perverted in the interests of false economics. To this proud and self-sufficient Pharisee Christ said : " Go : sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor ; and follow Me." Why ? Because that man's besetting sin was covetousness, greed, avarice ; and because the only radical

cure for that disease was the renunciation of all earthly wealth. Christ's saying was at once a revelation of the man's character and of the only means of his regeneration. Whilst he hugged his lands and his gold as the chief good he could never know salvation. Had he been equal to obeying Christ's great command he would have proved himself to be a new man and would have escaped the clutches of the one sin that could damn, and double damn, him, even to the lowest hell. But he was not equal to the heroic act of renunciation required: "He went away exceeding sorrowful, for he had great possessions." The command given to this young aristocrat was unique; it was the prescription of the Great Physician for a specific moral disease; the one method of salvation for a given type of character. Men who acquire wealth only for its own sake, and who use it simply upon themselves, are better without it, both on their own account and in the interests of society. It is better that such men should lose all they possess than lose themselves. This is the teaching of Christ; it is also the dictate of common-sense.

But did Christ command all rich men who came to Him to get rid of their wealth and bestow it upon the poor? Did He ever give such a command to any man besides this one? No. The significance of this fact is obvious. If He had required all rich men to make themselves poor the result would have been that none would have been rich and all poor; for if all existing wealth were to be redistributed it would be insufficient to make any one wealthy. But whilst the process of redistribution was going on a premium would be put upon idleness and improvidence, inasmuch as a large proportion of mankind will never work while they have even a single day's subsistence in hand. If Christ had given to all rich men the command which He gave to this particular one He would have been attempting to do precisely what the Socialists are seeking to accomplish, to subvert the very foundations of society and to sink mankind into abject poverty and misery.

Just consider what an opportunity the application of this rich young ruler gave to Jesus to propound new doctrines on the ownership and occupation of land, and to denounce private property, had He been disposed to do so. Did He do anything of the kind? On the contrary. He did not even tell this man to divide his landed estates among a number of other men: what He did tell him to do was to sell his land, transfer it to the possession of another private owner, and dedicate the purchase money to the relief of the poor. This was distinctly countenancing private ownership, even of land. But this is not all. A still more favourable opportunity for condemning private ownership presented itself to Christ when—"One out of the multitude said unto Him, Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me. But He said unto him, Man, who made Me a judge or a divider over you? And He said unto them, Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness." This was a family dispute about property, a sordid affair which did credit to none of the parties concerned, and in which our Lord declined to interfere. He evidently thought both parties in the wrong, but he did not even condemn wrongful possession; he simply referred the disputants to the judge whose business it was to equitably decide such matters. For the benefit both of these particular persons and of all others, however, He draws from the incident a great moral lesson: "Take heed; beware of covetousness." Thus He struck at the root, not only of this dispute, but of all similar ones. But He preached no Socialism, propounded no schemes for the reconstruction of society; on the contrary He once again emphatically sanctioned private ownership. There can be no doubt that if Christ were now upon the earth, and He were to be approached by workmen who should say: "Master, speak to our employers, and bid them more fairly divide the profits with us;" or by employers who should say—"Master, speak to our workmen, and bid them be content with a smaller share of the proceeds of industry:" He would reply to both parties alike—"Who made Me a

judge or a divider over you? beware of covetousness. Let neither side attempt to grasp too much; let both be just." What Christ would have done, that ought His ministers and disciples to do. Their duty is to expound and enforce the great moral principles which underlie these disputes, and to which both sides are under obligation to conform; but they should never be active participants in these disputes themselves, and still less ought they to resort to the unworthy acts of the demagogue in order to invoke the power of public opinion against one side or the other. The striking contrast which exists between the action of Jesus on these social matters and the conduct of some modern Christian ministers who claim to be the purest exemplars of His spirit is a lamentable proof of the apostate condition of the Christian Church.

The parable—or incident—of Dives and Lazarus has been grossly misinterpreted in the interests of Socialism. It is claimed that Christ here taught that the mere possession of wealth is sinful; that it was the sin of being rich, and no other, which ruined Dives. But if Dives was lost because he was rich, Lazarus was saved because he was poor; hence the only way of salvation is through poverty; it is therefore infinitely better to be poor than rich; consequently to attempt to better the condition of the poor is to seek their eternal ruin. If this is the truth of the matter, why do not Socialists, at all events "Christian" Socialists, rest content with their lot and leave the rich alone? One of their number, "Father" Benson, says: "Think not that poverty is the great eye-sore of our city; if we were all poor together we might have God's blessing on our penury: *the great eye-sore of London is your accumulated wealth. If a man can have no crime imputed to him save this—that he has accumulated riches in the bank: that alone is sin enough to send him to hell.*"* Behold the spirit of "Christian" Socialism! Contrast its blair-eyed, raging envy, with the calm spirit

* The Church Reformer, April 15, 1884.

and the wise and gentle teaching of Christ. Why do Mr. Benson and the rest of them strive to ameliorate the condition of the poor if penury is the condition which God blesses and affluence the sin which He curses and visits with damnation? These men are hypocrites, whited sepulchres, for they say and do not, or they do not as they say: their teaching is as rank an abomination in the eyes of God as it is repulsive to the reason of man.

If the possession of wealth is "sin enough to send a man to hell," how came Abraham into heaven? He was a rich man, probably richer than Dives himself; how then could he, of all men, tell Dives that he was damned because he was rich? Clearly the teaching of this parable, the only possible lesson that can be drawn from it, is that Dives was lost because of his avarice, his selfishness, his inhumanity towards his poorer neighbours. That was his sin, as it is the sin of multitudes to-day; but it is a sin which is not confined to the rich, and that can equally be manifested by the poor; though of course it is more flagrant, less subtle, in the case of the rich. The crying sin of Christendom to-day is covetousness: the luxury, the ostentation, the wantonness, the gluttony, the self-indulgence, of some among the wealthy classes, combined with stony-hearted callousness towards the suffering and oppression of the sick and the poor and the needy; this it is which like a mill-stone drags the soul down to the nethermost hell. Aristotle said two thousand years ago that the evils of civilised life were not caused by the system of private property and free exchange, but by the depravity of human nature, and this is true to-day. The evils from which we suffer are not caused by the private ownership of wealth, but by the misuse of it by wicked men. Wickedness, however, can never be cured by politics; it is moral, and it can only be reached by moral remedies. Socialism can never extirpate it; but Christianity can.

Christianity is never antagonistic to common-sense; it is the apotheosis of common-sense. It is common-sense per-

fect, sublimated, sanctified ; it is reason exalted, purified, glorified ; it is the true rationalism, the Divine wisdom. It is opposed neither to the acquisition, nor the possession, nor the enjoyment of wealth. " Let him that stole steal no more : but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have whereof to *give* to him that hath need." There could be neither stealing nor giving where private property did not exist. Whilst Christianity does not make this life the be-all and the end-all, it both permits and enjoins the enjoyment of it within rational limits. " The Son of man is come eating and drinking." At the marriage festival in Cana, and at the " great feast " in Levi's house, He proved that He was no sour ascetic or narrow-souled puritan. His defence of the woman who anointed Him with ten pounds' worth of precious ointment against the mean churls who said the money might have been given to the poor, proves that a Christian may enjoy the comforts and even the luxuries of life within moderate limits. " Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come." " God giveth us richly all things to enjoy." " For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving : for it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer." Those Socialists who affirm that Christianity forbids its votaries to make the best of this life, to enjoy it to the full, entirely misrepresent it ; consequently their contention that the satisfactions of this life can only be realised in proportion as Christianity is rejected is seen to be baseless.

During Christ's earthly ministry social inequalities and injustices existed, and in much more flagrant and oppressive forms than they do to-day ; but he never denounced them, nor did He make any direct effort to remove them. He was not a political economist, or a social reformer, much less a politician ; He was a Counsellor, a Revealer, a Redeemer. He had a better way than that of the reformers and economists. They deal with the external conditions of man's

life; He deals with the life itself. Their methods are political; His method is moral. They teach men; He saves them. They rely upon Law; He relies upon Love. They propound ambitious schemes for re-constructing society on a new basis, for dealing with men in multitudes, and for accomplishing gigantic reforms on the instant; He is content to deal with men one by one, to work by slow and toilsome processes, and on the old-fashioned basis of placing every man in a right relation to God. That His method is the only one that accords with God's will and with man's nature, and therefore the only effective one, will appear more fully in a subsequent chapter.

Upon the relation and the duty of the Christian towards his fellow-men, no wiser words, or truer, have ever been uttered than those of good old Bishop Latimer, who, in his sermon on "Our Daily Bread," says:—

"When I say, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' I pray not for myself only, if I ask as He biddeth me, but I pray for all others. Wherefore say I not, 'Our Father, give me this day my daily bread'? For because God is not my God alone, He is a common God. And here we be admonished to be friendly, loving, and charitable one to another: for what God giveth, I cannot say, 'this is mine,' but I must say 'this is ours.' For the rich man cannot say 'this is mine alone, God hath given it to me for my own use.' Nor yet hath the poor man any title unto it to take it away from him. No, the poor man may not do so, for when he doeth so, he is a thief afore God and man. But yet the poor man hath title to the rich man's goods, so that the rich man ought to let the poor man have part of his riches to help and comfort him withal. Therefore when God sendeth unto me much, it is not my own, but ours; it is not given unto me alone, but I must help my poor neighbours withal." Again he says: "Remember this word 'our' what it meaneth. I told you. And here I have occasion to speak of the proprieties of things; for I fear if I should leave it so, some of you would report me wrongfully, and affirm that all

things should be common. I say not so. Certain it is that God hath ordained proprieties of things, so that which is mine is not thine; for what thou hast I cannot take from thee. If all things were common there could be no theft, and so this commandment, ‘Thou shalt not steal,’ were in vain. But it is not so: the laws of the realm make *meum et tuum*, mine and thine. If I have things by those laws, then I have them well. But this you must not forget, that St. Paul saith: ‘Relieve the necessity of those who have need.’ Things are not so common that any man may take my goods from me, for this is theft; but they are so common that we ought to distribute them unto the poor, to help them, and to comfort them with it.” With regard to the Jerusalem experiment, Latimer has these remarks: “There was a certain manner of having things in common in the time of the apostles; for some good men, as Barnabas was, sold their lands and possessions, and brought the money unto the apostles. But that was done for this cause—there was a great many of Christian people at that time treated very ill, insomuch as they lived before God; now such folk came into the apostles for aid and help; therefore those which were faithful men, seeing the poverty of their brethren, went and sold that they had, and spent the money amongst such poor which were newly made Christians.”

In the Pope’s recent Encyclical upon the labour question these remarks occur: “The chiefest and most excellent rule for the right use of money is one which the heathen philosophers indicated, but which the Church has traced out clearly, and has not only made known to men’s minds, but has impressed upon their lives. It rests on the principle that it is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another thing to have a right to use money as one pleases. Private ownership, as we have seen, is the natural right of man, and to exercise that right, especially as members of society, is not only lawful, but absolutely necessary. It is lawful, says St. Thomas of Aquin, for a

man to hold private property, and it is also necessary for the carrying on of human life. But if the question be asked, how must one's possessions be used, the Church replies without hesitation in the words of the same holy doctor: 'Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without difficulty when others are in need.' Whence the apostle saith, command the rich of this world . . . to give with lax, to communicate. True, no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own necessities and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life; for no one ought to live unbecomingly. For when necessity has been supplied, and one's position fairly considered, it is a duty to give to the indigent, out of that which is over. It is a duty, not of justice (except in extreme cases), but of Christian charity—a duty which is not enforced by human law. . . . Thus to sum up what has been said:—Whoever has received from the divine bounty a large share of blessings, whether they be eternal or corporeal or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature, and, at the same time, that he may employ them as the minister of God's providence for the benefit of others."

Thus Latimer, the Protestant bishop who was burned to death by the Papal bigots of his day, and Pope Leo XIII., who now occupies the Pontiff's chair, agree as regards the duty of Christians towards these social and economical questions which so intimately and practically affect the welfare of society.

CHAPTER III.

COMBINATIONS OF LABOURERS AND OF CAPITALISTS ; WITH OBSERVATIONS ON TRADE UNIONISM, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION, PROFIT SHARING AND CO-OPERATION.

THE purpose of this chapter is to inquire to what extent the relations between Capital and Labour can be placed upon a permanently satisfactory footing by the action, interaction, and counteraction of capitalistic and labour combinations. We shall deal first with the workmen's combinations, or Trade Unions.

Perhaps there is no subject upon which it is so necessary that Englishmen should clear their minds of cant as the subject of Trade Unions ; as there is certainly none other upon which they indulge in such wild and persistent exaggeration. The average Englishman, sober and rational enough on most things, seems to quite lose his head when he comes to deal with this question, with the result that he indulges in an amount of sentimental, almost hysterical, balderdash which he would be the first to laugh at in other men in regard to other matters. As for the average British politician, he is evidently convinced that Trade Unions were founded under direct guidance from Heaven, and that they are sacrosanct institutions which must be touched very delicately, almost reverently.* As for outspoken criticism upon them, that would amount to something like profanity, and must not for a moment be tolerated, at all events

* Sir Charles Dilke, addressing the Sailors' and Firemen's Union at Liverpool on Oct. 5, 1892, said that—"Trade Unionism had been called the gospel of this world, and it needed to be preached to the poor of this world *as much as did the Gospel of the other world.*"

among politicians. If Trade Unions were Divinely organised institutions, endued with supernatural powers for the regeneration of humanity, they could not be spoken of in terms substantially different from those which are now used. At the Folkestone Church Congress, on Oct. 5, 1892, Mr. Alderman Phillips said : “ The ultimate aim of Trade Unionism is to bring about all round better conditions for the workman and his family, *the development of a nobler manhood and womanhood among the working classes of our nation.* Surely that is a righteous aim, a holy ideal. . . . Now, surely it is the Church’s duty to help on any movement that has for its object the higher development of manhood and womanhood. . . . Another aim of Trade Unionism is that the strong shall help the weak.” On the same occasion Canon Scott-Holland said that Trade Unionism was the direction in which the Church should recognise “ the higher moral principles.” The object of this work, however, is to ascertain the truth, and teach it, without fear or favour, without regard to the prejudices or susceptibilities of either individuals or classes ; and the writer will, therefore, endeavour to probe this subject to the heart with the keen lancet of Truth, and to sound and test the pretentious edifice of Trade Unionism with the plummet of Justice.

Trade Unions exist ; Trade Unionism is a fact (though it is not so potent a factor in industrial affairs as it pretends to be) ; and no doubt they have to be reckoned with. What is more, probably nobody wishes to sweep them out of existence, provided that they will restrict their operations within proper limits and content themselves with the use of legitimate methods. This proviso would, however, be fatal to Trade Unions in their present form.

The right of workmen to form unions of their own is legally established. These unions can even promote strikes in order to secure an advance in wages or an improvement in the conditions under which their members work without in any way violating the common law of this country.

Formerly any such attempt at combination was illegal, and any attempt to raise wages by concerted action was a criminal offence. On May 29, 1789, the following paragraph was published: "On Saturday the journeymen smiths, convicted in November last of a conspiracy for the purpose of raising their wages, were brought up in the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment. The sentence of the Court was pronounced by Mr. Justice Ashurst, on Thomas Bunce and three others, in these words:—'Thomas Bunce, &c., you have been tried and found guilty of entering into a conspiracy to raise the price of wages in the trade and business of a blacksmith. This is a crime of a very heinous nature, and of the most pernicious consequences to society. It is a crime which of late years has become exceedingly frequent, and, therefore, this Court, which presides over the general welfare of the country, will animadvert severely on this subject. The Court, in mercy to you, allowed this matter to stand over for some time, in order that they might see whether the effects of the conspiracy were entirely at an end, and whether those of the same business with you would return to their work, and perform their labour for their former wages. This Court has found this not to be the case, and, therefore, it is necessary to put an end to it by a severe example. The Court, in the sentence they are now about to pass on you, have had regard to the length of time you have been already confined (six months), and the sentence of the Court is that you, and each of you, be imprisoned in his Majesty's gaol of Newgate for 18 months.' " Nobody wishes to bring back the customs of a century ago.

We hear much nowadays to the effect that working men are fighting for the right to combine. Nobody knows better than working men themselves that they are not fighting for any such purpose. They have the right to combine in the fullest possible manner. Not since 1825 has a combination of workmen been unlawful. In 1875 workmen were placed on absolute equality with their masters as regards freedom of contract and breach of contract. The same measure

enacted that no combination of persons is to be deemed criminal if the acts done, or proposed to be done, by such combination would not be criminal when done by one person. Mr. Justin M'Carthy says:—"In principle this legislation accomplished all that any reasonable advocate of the claims of the trade unions could have demanded. It put the masters and the workmen on an equality. It recognised the right of combination for every purpose which is not itself actually contrary to law. It settled the fact that the right of a combination is just the same as the right of an individual. The law had long conceded to any one man the right to say for himself that he would not work for less than a certain rate of wages. It now acknowledged that a hundred or ten thousand workmen have a right to combine in the same resolution. It admitted their legal right to put this resolve into execution by way of a strike if they so thought fit. . . . Thus, to carry the exposition a little further, an association of working men have a perfect legal right to endeavour to persuade other working men to adopt their views, accept their resolutions, and become members of their union. They have a right to say that anyone who does not agree to their rules shall not become or shall not remain a member of their society. Further, and finally, they have a right to say that they will not work in the same establishment with men who have acted in such a way as in their opinion to do injury to the common cause of trade. . . . So far as this, we believe their rights are now fully admitted. Beyond this no sensible man among the trades unions themselves would think of asking that they should go."

Beyond this, however, Trade Union leaders are asking that legislation should go. Not content with the right to combine, the right to strike for higher wages, they are fighting for the power to intimidate and coerce workmen who will not agree with them or join their unions. As the law now stands unionists who intimidate non-unionists, or strikers who are guilty of assault or of damaging their employer's

property, may be rigorously punished; but if the new unionists could get their way all these things would speedily be made legal. They wish to have the law of conspiracy abolished in order that they may at once gag and fetter labour and terrorise and coerce capital.* The dock strike and the various strikes which have since occurred have conclusively shown that Trade Unionism, not satisfied with equality, is contending for supremacy. The free workman is master of the situation, and must always be so in a perfectly free state of society. When strikers, either for good reasons or without reason, throw up their work, there will always be plenty of men ready to take their places while existing conditions prevail in this country. Employers, deprived of the services of men to whom they have paid fair wages, or who may wish to impose upon them unreasonable conditions, will be able to obtain other workmen out of the open market, and their right to do this is perhaps their only remaining defence against Trade Unionism. The real question is whether the free labourer is to continue to have the legal right to sell his labour in the best market he can find, and whether the employer is to continue to have the legal right to obtain labour on the best terms he can in the open market. The new unionism would speedily settle the question by depriving both the employer and the free workman of the liberty which they now enjoy. They are clamouring for legislation which will effect this two-fold object, and members of Parliament and other public men are to be found who are willing to assist these English Nihilists in destroying the fundamental rights and liberties of their fellow-countrymen. Trade Unions and their sympathisers have got to be taught, by the sternest and sharpest methods if necessary, that the rights of every man are as sacred as their own and that these rights are not to be trampled under foot even by the class who may, numerically considered, be most powerful at the polls.

* See Vol. I of this work, pp. 258-268, Library Edition.

The legality of Trade Unions is therefore beyond discussion. Their morality is another thing. The writer, for his part, believes that their moral effects are on the whole rather evil than good ; that is to say, that the good they do is more than outweighed by the evil which they do. One of their direct effects is to enfeeble the individual man, to beget in him a sense of helplessness when he stands by himself, and to make him feel that he is only strong when he falls into rank with hundreds and thousands of others. Yet every man has got to fight his own battle in this world ; and in regard to those things which are most momentous in their nature and effects, he must of necessity stand alone. A man who has his strength within himself may, by God's good help, win against all the world ; whilst the man who is for ever depending upon his fellows and not upon himself may lose at every point. Another effect of Trade Unions is that they degrade the superior workman to the level of the inferior workman. A union cannot discriminate ; it lumps men together in the mass. Men are not things, and they cannot be treated in this wholesale fashion, as though they were so many baulks of timber, without serious injury being done all round. When a Trade Union insists upon thousands and tens of thousands of men being paid the same wages because they are engaged on the same work, without regard to the variations in quality which distinguish men and their work, and without regard to the amount of labour which each may perform, a flagrant injustice is done to two classes of persons, namely to the employer and to the more competent among the workmen. For the employer has to pay the same for labour which is inferior in quality and bulk as he has to pay for that which is superior ; while the capable workman who works more and works better than the incapable one is paid only at the same rate as the latter. Furthermore, there is a tendency in all Trade Unions to magnify their own importance, and to carry their authority, such as it is, beyond the sphere within which it ought to be confined, and to dictate to employers the conditions upon

which they are to use their capital and do their business, and to coerce workmen into compliance with the Union regulations, however absurd or arbitrary they may be. The Duke of Devonshire, addressing the shareholders of the Furness Railway in 1892, referred to the strike of Durham miners which had occurred just previously, and he added that it was not the business of Trade Unions to attempt to regulate the lines upon which great industries and great commercial concerns are managed. That hits the nail on the head. But Trade Unions, and particularly their officials, are persuaded that it is their business, their chief and almost their sole business in fact, to control great industries and to dictate to employers the terms on which they ought, and on which they must be made, to conduct their affairs. Most of the great strikes of the last few years, the Dock strike, the various coal strikes, railway strikes, etc., have all been impudent and unabashed attempts to coerce employers into doing, not what it was their duty to do, but what a few Trade Union Bosses thought that it was their duty to do. And as many of these Union officials were not only utterly ignorant of economic laws, but also without special knowledge of the industries which they attacked, they blundered seriously, and thereby wrought much injury, both to these industries and to the interests of the men whom they misled. It is well known that the shipbuilding trade was driven away from the Thames chiefly through the action of Trade Unions. Now the Unions seem to be doing their best to drive it from the Tyne as well, for they have got up one strike after another on the most absurd pretexts, and inflicted almost irreparable loss upon employers. The effect may be understood from one example. Palmer's Shipbuilding and Iron Company, at Jarrow, an immense concern, where vessels of the finest class including the very largest warships are built, in its twenty-eighth annual report announced a profit of only £23,522 19s. 8d. The report stated: "The profit shown is very inadequate, considering the large amount of capital

invested in the company's works and general business. This is largely traceable in all the departments to strikes of workmen, which enhanced the cost of production during a period of unprecedentedly low selling prices; and the directors much regret that they are not able to declare a dividend on the ordinary shares for the past year." Here we have an enormous industrial concern brought almost to the verge of ruin by the stupidity and folly of Trade Unions. No doubt other establishments on the Tyne have been affected in the same way. The same thing has been going on all over the country in connection with docks, railways, mines, factories, and the aggregate losses which have been the result are simply incalculable. Not only have millions of pounds which ought to have gone into the pockets of employers and workmen been diverted elsewhere, but a large amount of trade which ought to have been kept in this country has been driven away, and a great deal of it will never come back. And all because a few Trade Union officials, not content to manage their own organisations, wish to manage and control the business of the employers as well. The worst of it is that this illegitimate interference is an essential feature of Trade Unionism as it now exists, and is inseparable from it. There is no hope of things being better while Trade Unions exist in their present form. But amiable politicians like the Duke of Devonshire do not seem to realise that the evil features of Trade Unionism which they so mildly criticise are inherent in the system itself.*

The tyranny of Trade Unions is perhaps their most

* The lace curtain trade has been to a great extent driven from Nottingham by the Trade Unions. Mr. Cree states that he met in Glasgow a lace weaver who said that he had for years earned £7 a week in Nottingham. "I told him that was how the manufacturers at Nottingham had been ruined, and the trade driven to Scotland." "What is that to me?" he said, "I had my big wage for years, and then came here." A fair sample of the Trade Unionist.

objectionable characteristic. Richard Cobden, who knew what he was talking about, said in one of his speeches in 1842: "Depend upon it nothing can be got by fraternising with Trade Unions. They are formed upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly. I would rather live under a Dey of Algiers than a Trades Union." These sentiments were generally held by the Liberals of that day; and who can prove that they were in the wrong? If they opposed the Factory Acts, it was not because they delighted in oppression, but because they foresaw that those Acts, not in themselves but by being made the pretext for further interference with freedom, would originate evils which would more than outweigh any good that they might effect. Events have more than justified their prescience. For every new aggression upon our liberties, every new attack upon the rights and upon the property of employers, is sought to be justified by an appeal to the Factory Acts. In this way the harm done by those Acts indirectly more than counterbalances the good which they may have directly effected. If modern Liberals were as true to their name and creed as John Bright and Richard Cobden were they would take the same view of Trade Unions as those eminent men did. No true friend of liberty can be a supporter of Trade Unionism.

Whilst Trade Unions are, as we shall see, doing a vast amount of mischief incidentally, they do not really succeed in the primary object for which they were instituted, namely, to raise and to keep wages above the point which they would have reached had there been no Trade Unions at all. Trade Union leaders like to flatter themselves that they have really been instrumental in adding to the wages of the workman. For the most part they have really done nothing of the kind, and in so far as they have succeeded in this direction it has been in an almost infinitesimal degree. The contention that Trade Unions have really raised the rate of wages is made to look plausible because wages have increased considerably since Trade Unions were established.

That a larger increase of wages has occurred during the period covered by Trade Unionism than had ever occurred during any like period previously is undoubtedly true; but that this increase, though coincident with the rise and growth of Trades Unionism, is actually due to them, is a proposition which needs to be proved. So far there has been no satisfactory proof of it. In order to show that the increase that has taken place in wages is really due to Trades Unionism, it will be necessary also to show that no other causes have been at work producing the same effect. This cannot be shown. It is easy, however, to bring the matter to a simple test, which even the most unlearned working man may understand. Can the strongest Trade Union in existence, however perfect its combination and its machinery, succeed in enforcing an increase of wages during a time of trade depression, when markets are glutted and values are falling? Is there a case on record where a Trade Union has succeeded in doing this? The answer to both questions must be in the negative. Everybody can see that wages only rise when times are prosperous, and only fall when commerce is depressed, and that they do so in accordance with, and in obedience to, natural laws which no human organisation can check or control. Domestic servants have no Trade Union, and yet their wages have increased during the last fifty years in a larger proportion than those of any other class. Obviously in this case the increase is not due to Trade Unionism. To what then is it due? To the operation of the law of supply and demand, and to nothing else whatever. Domestic servants, taking all things into account, are better paid than any other class of manual workers. They serve no apprenticeship, and they begin to earn good wages at once, although they are often incompetent and untrustworthy. From statistics recently published it appears that in 1891, according to the census, there were 238,366 female indoor domestic servants in London. Schedules have been supplied by 302 families in London relating to 678 female domestic servants, and of

these 302 families 82 kept one servant, 107 two servants, 55 three servants, 31 four servants, and 27 upwards of four. The average wages and ages of the servants dealt with on these schedules were as follows:—General (number of servants 97)—wages £15 10s., average age 26; housemaid (212)—£16 10s., 23; nurse (51)—£19, 28; kitchenmaid (23)—£12, 19; nursemaid (6)—£15, 23; cook (187)—£22, 33; parlourmaid (76)—£20, 27; lady's maid (22)—£25, 32; cook-housekeeper (4)—£22 10s., 43; all classes—total servants 678, average wages £18 10s., average age 27.

There are also other occupations in which wages have risen, although the men have no Trade Unions. It is claimed by Trade Unionists that even in these cases the increase is indirectly due to their organisations; but it would be really just as reasonable to say that it is due to the action of the Zoological Society. The fact is that the development of railway and steamship enterprises, the enormous growth of our industries as the result of Free Trade, the consequent increase of wealth, the advance in the general standard of living and the multiplicity of new wants which that wealth has created, all of which have given rise to an augmented demand for labour, are the real causes which have led to an increase of wages all round. Capital has been plentiful, and capitalists have felt sure of a return for their expenditure, and wherever this is the case labour will be in demand and wages good. But Trade Unionists coolly ignore all the causes of increased wealth and wages which we have mentioned, and calmly appropriate to the credit of their pet institution the results of all the progress which has been achieved, by whatever means, during the last two generations. It is not surprising that they should adopt these tactics; but it is a marvel that other people do not see through the deception.

No economist or Trade Unionist has yet proved that open Trade Unions are effectual in raising wages. All Trade Unionists, and some economists, have asserted that they are; but they cannot support their assertion by any trust-

worthy evidence. John Stuart Mill says: "The condition of the working classes can be bettered in no other way than by altering the proportion which capital bears to population to their advantage, and every scheme for their benefit which does not proceed on this as its foundation is, for all permanent purposes, a delusion. . . . From the necessity of the case, the only fund out of which an increase of wages can possibly be obtained by the labouring classes, considered as a whole, is profits." This was Mill's opinion in his best days, before he came under the influence of persons and theories which sapped the robustness of his nature and inclined him towards sentimentalism and Socialism. Afterwards he recanted this opinion, and strove to prove that wages are not regulated by the law of supply and demand, and that so far as natural laws are concerned there is nothing to prevent wages absorbing not only the whole of the employers' fixed capital but also his floating capital as well, leaving him but a bare subsistence. But into that mazy labyrinth we need not follow him, especially as a keen critic has tracked him step by step, and exposed his errors and absurdities with pitiless logic.*

Professor Fawcett says that an advance in wages does not follow immediately upon an improvement in trade without the intervention of a Trade Union, or, in other words, that the workmen combined in a Union get their share of increased profits sooner than they would uncombined. This is not proved, but assuming it to be true it is no argument for Trade Unions. For the natural thing is that wages should not rise or fall simultaneously with improvement or depression in trade. Employers must have time to realise increased profits from improved trade before they can extend their businesses or go into new enterprises, or in other words until they require more men. When that point is reached, and the supply of labourers is inadequate to the

* See "A Criticism of the Theory of Trade Unions," by T. S. Cree.

demand, wages rise naturally, whether there are any Trade Unions or not, and nothing can prevent them doing so. It is quite possible, however, that where a Trade Union does exist, and prematurely demands an advance in wages on the first sign of improved trade, and before employers have had time to realise increased profits and plan new projects, the enterprise of employers may be checked and the ultimate demand for labour limited. In that way a Trade Union may not only prevent an increase of wages from being actually realised, but it may also be the means of knocking on the head schemes for the enlargement of old businesses and for the foundation of new ones, to the loss of the country in general and of workmen in particular. On the other hand, when a period of depression sets in employers often go on for some time making but little profit, or perhaps suffering actual loss, before they limit their operations, that is to say before they decide that labourers are too numerous for the work in hand and that therefore wages must fall. So that if men uncombined seem to suffer some disadvantage when trade takes a turn for the better they are amply compensated for it when trade takes a turn for the worse. This is the natural course of things, and Unions can do nothing but mischief by interfering with it.

Professor Nicholson, in his article on wages in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, admits that Trade Unions can do but little to raise nominal or money wages, but he appears to think that the Unions, by performing their proper function, which is to promote the general interests and improve the general condition of their members, may raise the real rate of wages. Even Professor Marshall acknowledges that while combination can do something to raise wages it cannot do much. This is faint praise, indeed.

Mr. T. S. Cree has conclusively proved that workmen are in a better position to treat with their employers as regards wages when they act separately and individually, each man for himself, than they are when they act in concert as members of a combination. The remuneration of labour

is regulated by the operation of the law of supply and demand, and it will continue to be so in spite of all the fumings and ragings of Socialistic economists or unionists, and in proportion as that law can operate unfettered, in a free market, will the labourers be benefited. Mill, and others, contend that the action of this law, where workmen are concerned, is inexact and imperfect, but Mr. Cree shows that in a sensitive market, where there is a large number of individual transactions, supply and demand balance each other perfectly. He proceeds :

“The more numerous the transactions are the smaller are the variations in price between one transaction and another, and the want of exactness of which Mr. Mill complains is reduced to an infinitesimal quantity. But Mr. Mill’s remedy—combination among labourers—destroys the labour market altogether, as it does away with the number of individual transactions, and substitutes a system of few transactions between a master and all his workmen at a time, or between all the masters on one hand and all the men on the other. It thus removes labour from the category of things in the price of which there is a *minimum* of inexactness and puts it among those where the small number of transactions causes a maximum of uncertainty. I should not put the labour market in the category of the most sensitive. In no case would the rate of wages fluctuate like the price of stocks or produce. The action of the law, though delicate, is not rapid. But at all events combination by reducing the number of transactions does enormously increase the no-man’s land, the area of uncertainty in the labour market. Mr. Mill’s remedy thus greatly aggravates the evil which he wishes to cure, or rather I should say combination creates an evil where none existed before. It is often said that the work of Trade Unions is just the higgling of the market. But as we have seen, a market involves a number of buyers and sellers, and a number of transactions, and a consequent quick and easy tendency to equality in price. Combination destroys this market, and in doing so it destroys a gauge of

the true price, delicate, sensitive, and self-acting, and as Mr. Mill and Professor Marshall admit, almost perfect ; and it puts nothing in its place. By the law of supply and demand the proper wage in any trade would be the wage at which a sufficient number of labourers, acting individually, could be found to do the work properly. That I think is a perfect rule. . . . But what do they (Mill and others) substitute for this rule, which they discard, while admitting it to be almost perfect ? *They have nothing to put in its place. Trade Unions have no principle by which to fix the proper remuneration of labour.* It should just be something more than it is. If the wage is fivepence an hour it should be sixpence : if it is eightpence it should be tenpence. To ask an advance when they think trade is good, and if necessary to enforce it by a strike, is their only principle. Professor Marshall, indeed, in his book, and Mr. Mavor, in his paper on wages theories, speak of the need of collecting statistics, with the view of ascertaining what is the proper share of labour in distribution. But I believe that would be an impossible task. Any one who reads Professor Marshall's book (Book vii., Caps. 4, 5, 6) will see how difficult it would be to say what the rate of wages should be in any trade or place. Nothing short of omniscience, perfect honesty, perfect impartiality, and perfect judgment would be sufficient for the task, and any authority falling short of these qualities would land us in a chaos of confusion.”

What has been said up to this point as to the inability of Trade Unions to raise wages applies only to what are known as “open” Unions. There are Trade Unions, however, which are close corporations, and with these the case is somewhat different. Professor Nicholson, in his essay on wages, says : “At the time of the Tudors the decay of many towns was largely due to these ‘fraternities of evil,’ as Bacon called the guilds. The history of the craft guilds is full of instructive examples of the principles governing wages. No doubt their regulations tended to raise wages above their natural rate ; but, as a natural

consequence, industries migrated to places where the oppressive regulations did not exist." In other words, the members of the guild succeeded in their selfish purpose, but it was at the expense of wronging other workmen, ruining industry, and injuring the country generally. The Trade Union is like unto its prototype, the craft guild, as we shall see before we have done with it. At present the point is that close Unions may succeed in raising wages, and on this point we again quote Mr. Cree. He says:

"I do not deny that, by restricting their numbers, some trades have managed to secure high wages; and we will now consider Mr. Mill's justification of the restriction of the numbers of labourers in a trade, as practised by Trades Unions. He admits that all that he has maintained will be of no avail in keeping up wages unless the number of competitors for employment can be limited. The rise in wages, he says, must be at the expense either of wages in other departments or of profits, and in general both will contribute. I have shown, I think, that profits cannot be made to bear a share of it without reacting upon wages, so that in reality the rise of wages in one department will be solely at the expense of wages in other departments. Even Mr. Mill admits that it will be partly so; and he justifies that by the plea that unions of particular trades are necessary steps towards a universal union including all labour. And this is an argument which has been adopted by many economists. But I think it will not stand a moment's consideration. What is aimed at is a limitation of the amount of labour in each trade. It is evident that, for such limitation, a Union of all labour is exactly the same as no Union at all, while a Union not of all labour, but of all trades, will create an enormous army of paupers. Let us suppose that the Union officials should consider the excess of labour in an open trade to be 10 per cent. of the whole, which is a moderate estimate, from their point of view. The surplus men from one trade could not be absorbed by other trades, for these are also organised and occupied in getting rid of their own surplus.

"Suppose there are thirty trades in the country with an average of 200,000 men in each—6,000,000 in all—and 2,000,000 unskilled labourers, a restriction of numbers by 10 per cent. in all these trades would add 600,000 men to the ranks of unskilled labourers. But unskilled labour is also, we are told, to be organised and limited in the future, and a beginning has been made in that direction with the dock labourers. Unskilled labour, then, will refuse the surplus 600,000 men from other trades, and will add its own surplus 200,000 to the ranks of the unemployed, making in all 800,000. Those 800,000 men with their families—say 3,000,000 of people—would be paupers to be kept at the public expense, of which, of course, the employed men would have to bear their share. Restrictive union is then a weapon directed against a part of the labouring class, and cannot be reconciled with their interests either present or future.

"So much for Mr. Mill's first apology for what he calls 'an oligarchy of manual labourers indirectly supported by a tax levied on the democracy.'

"His second plea is, as I quoted, that the blacklegs or knobsticks, the men who are excluded, are a morally inferior class, putting no restraint on their additions to the population. 'We do them no wrong' he makes his labour oligarchs say, 'by intrenching ourselves behind a barrier to exclude those whose competition would bring down our wages without more than momentarily raising theirs, but only adding to the total number in existence.' Mr. Mill calls this the Malthusian theory, which I think is a libel on Mr. Malthus. Mr. Malthus advocated self-restraint. He never proposed the destruction of the weak by the strong, in order that the latter should have more to divide.

"We have heard of strong men on board a castaway ship seizing all the food and leaving the weaker members of the crew to starve, but I never before heard such conduct approved of because they were morally superior."

The facts and arguments just advanced are in our judgment sufficient to at least throw very grave doubt upon the

alleged efficiency of Trade Unions in raising wages, even if they do not disprove that contention entirely. Nobody has proved, or can prove, that the Unions do or can raise wages, whilst there are very strong reasons on the other side. The only case in which it can be indisputably proved that the Unions have raised wages is where they have adopted such measures of restriction and protection as to turn themselves into monopolies, and as such are inimical to the true interests of society.*

The matter of wages, however, although it is, perhaps naturally, exalted into a foremost place by members of Trade Unions and by workmen generally, is really a secondary consideration with other members of the community. There are matters of much greater importance even to workmen themselves than the nominal amount of their wages, such as regular work, the exercise of freedom, the general cheapness of commodities, etc.; and it is quite conceivable that Trade Unions, even if they could and did

* It is amusing to observe the contrariety of opinion which exists among economists as to wages. Mill in later life denied the doctrine of the wages fund which he had formerly taught, and held that "there is abstractedly available for the payment of wages not only the employer's capital, but the whole of what can possibly be retrenched from his private expenditure, and the law of wages on the side of demand amounts only to the obvious proposition that the *employes* cannot pay away in wages what they have not got." Professor Marshall says the dispute about the wages fund theory is very much a question of words. General Walker and some others contend that wages are not paid out of capital at all, but out of produce. Professor Nicholson says that wages are paid partly out of capital and partly out of produce. Mr. Cree pertinently asks: "If wages are not paid out of capital, but out of produce, where do they come from when there is no produce? Suppose a capitalist should sink a mine for coal or gold, and the whole produce should be the knowledge that there is no coal or gold there, can the men's wages be paid out of that knowledge?"

increase wages in certain industries, might, by driving away capital, diminishing employment, and subjecting workmen to oppressive regulations, do an amount of harm which would more than outweigh any little good which they might have effected in temporarily and sectionally raising wages. For ourselves, while we deny entirely the power of Trade Unions in or of themselves to raise wages, we are prepared to prove that they do an amount of positive harm which constitutes them a veritable danger to society. To this task we shall now address ourselves.

It may be necessary to state that although we thus take up a position of antagonism towards Trade Unions we are actuated by no motive of hostility towards the working classes, and that if we honestly believed these organizations to exist and act in the true interests of those classes, we would heartily support them. When the working classes are spoken of, however, let it be borne in mind that the overwhelming majority of those classes are not members of these Unions, and that a not inconsiderable proportion of that majority of them are even actively and bitterly opposed to them. Mr. R. Giffen, in his evidence before the Labour Commission, said: "The fullest report of Trade Unions showed a membership of 871,000 only as compared with about 13,000,000 workpeople and 7,000,000 adult male labourers. The annual income of Trade Unions was nearly £1,200,000, or about 27s. 6d. per head of the members, and the income of the union members who belonged mostly to the higher grades would probably be not less than £70 per head. So that the union saving, or rather insurance, for it was not all saved, was about 2 per cent. of income." Numerically considered, therefore, the Trade Unionists are an insignificant minority of the working classes, and taken as a whole they are certainly not superior to free workmen, either intellectually, socially, or in any other respect. It is not obvious why in these circumstances so much deference or consideration should be paid to Trade Unionists by politicians and others, especially as their own favourite

principle, the darling doctrine of democracy, is that the majority should rule. Let this principle be rigorously applied in matters industrial, and the Trade Unions would be swept out of existence. What right, legal or moral, have the Trade Unionists to claim to represent the whole of the working classes; to demand and shape legislation in the supposed interests of those classes; and to shake their fist in the face of the Government and threaten all sorts of terrible penalties if the behests of their leaders are not obeyed? Really it is about time that our statesmen and legislators, and the community in general, took a more sober and truthful estimate of the proportions and the power of Trade Unionism, and ceased to appraise it according to the pretentious and fanciful valuation of its professional advocates. The power of Trade Unionism is nothing very formidable; certainly it is nothing to be afraid of, despite its bluff and bounce and bluster; and even time-serving politicians would do well to remember that for one voter inside a Trade Union there are at least seven voters outside.

For Trade Unions as benefit societies, or educational institutions, there is something to be said; or rather there was, for Friendly and Assurance Societies, Polytechnics and technical classes, are doing provident and educational work much better than Trade Unions can hope to do it. Besides, these matters now enter so little into the life of a Trade Union, and they are so lightly esteemed in comparison with what are thought to be the weightier questions of wages, hours of labour, etc., that there is really no need to take them into our consideration. Still, if Trade Unions would confine their operations to providing for their members in sickness and at death, to educating them in their respective trades, and to securing for them sanitary and healthy conditions of labour, they would do almost unmixed good and secure the commendation of everybody. But a Union which devoted its energies to useful but humdrum work of this kind would now a-days be voted a fossil and ridiculed out of existence. Professor Nicholson's plea on behalf of Trade

Unions, that although they can scarcely do anything to raise wages they are able to improve the condition of their members in various other ways, is feeble in the extreme. As a matter of fact the Unions practically confine their efforts to the one object of securing higher wages (reduced hours are intended to mean a virtual rise of wages, since the Unions intend, if they can, to ensure the same pay for less work), and in the pursuit of this purpose they sacrifice without compunction the liberties of their members, the property of employers, and the welfare of the country at large.

Let us glance at the tyranny of Trade Unionism, at the burden of oppression which it lays on its adherents, and at the intolerant spirit which it manifests towards those who are outside its pale. It is matter of common knowledge that no strike could be kept going a week if Trade Unionists respected the liberties of workmen; in other words, strikes are rendered possible only by the grinding tyranny of the Unions. Mr. Frederick Harrison, while glorying in the success of the dock strike, admitted that it would have collapsed in a fortnight "but for the pickets." This Radical, this champion of freedom, glories in tyranny of the most odious description! No less than 11,000 pickets were on "duty" during that strike.* The same thing has occurred in connection with the great railway strikes and coal strikes. Picketing is nothing more nor less than an outrageous violation of the liberty of the workman, which has behind it as its sanction boycotting and violence. Lord Bramwell, who had tried cases of picketing as a judge, said in the House of Lords, on March 6th, 1891: "I have said, and do say, there is nothing unlawful in picketing, provided that it is lawfully practised, *but that is what it never is.* . . . If the picketers had only done what they pretend and nothing more, that is to

* For a full account of the incidents attending the dock strike see Vol. I. Chap. I, also Appendix 5, Vol. I.

say, if they had merely met their fellow workmen in a friendly way and asked them to join, with nothing but a kind persuasiveness in their manner, nobody could have objected to it : they would have a perfect right to propagate their own opinions and try to get persons to ally themselves with them. But that picketing would not pay ; it would not be worth the trouble to picket in that way. The picketing must be of such a character as to inspire terror. That is the object of picketing, and it is attained tolerably well in many cases. . . . I believe there are few cases of extensive picketing in which there is no blow given ; if the conduct of the pickets was such as to excite terror in the minds of those picketed, and to deter them from doing their lawful work, I say it is an intolerable wrong and mischief both to the men who desire to work and the community at large. It would be bad enough if it were some benevolent, intelligent autocrat who terrorised over people in this way ; but when you consider that the tyranny is exercised by people who are actuated by ignorance and greed it is insufferable, even though there may be no blow proveable." It is a lamentable fact that this eminent lawyer should have felt constrained to add : " I do not know what the remedy for this is." It is somebody's duty to know what the remedy is, and to put it in force. If the Legislature cannot devise a remedy we shall have to find one in some other and less regular direction. It is a significant fact that the Labour Commission has very little to say with regard to strengthening the law against picketing and intimidation, though no other matter considered by it is half so vital and urgent as this. The one thing certain is that the liberties of this country, or of the workmen of this country, will not be permitted to remain at the mercy of Unions, that is to say at the mercy of officials of Unions, which represent only a small minority of the working classes. It is clear that, although these organisations pretend that they exist in order to obtain liberty for the workmen and to sustain that liberty

after it has been secured, and although they boast that they have enlarged the freedom of the British working class in a perfectly phenomenal manner, they have really done, and are at present doing, more to enslave the working man than any other institution that ever was established in this country. It may be well to adduce a few facts in support of this view. Mr. Cree relates the case of a plumber, whom he personally knew, who went to London for the benefit of his wife's health. He was told that he would not be allowed to work till he joined the Union. When he offered to join the Union he was told that he could not do so until he had worked three months in a Union shop. He then asked what he was to do, and he was told to go home to Scotland, and he had to do so. This is a typical case of Trade Union action, and it throws a flood of light upon the way in which the Unions promote fraternity and freedom. These organisations are based upon the principle of callous and unmitigated selfishness, and in the pursuit of the selfish objects of their members they will blindly and wantonly sacrifice every other person and every other interest in the world, not excepting their employers and the businesses from which they derive their own support.

On July 31, 1890, two coal-heavers told Mr. d'Eyncourt at the Westminster Police Court that they had been employed by Mr. Burrows, coal merchant, Grosvenor Road, Piccadilly, but had been stopped in their work by order of the delegates of the Coal Porters' Union, adding that they were members of the Union but had not kept up their payments. One of the men said that he had started work at 5.30 that morning, but Mr. Tom Murphy, the delegate, put a man in his place after breakfast, and he of course left. He said he thought it was very hard that he had to go, and that his master had suggested that he should apply for a summons. Mr. d'Eyncourt said that he could not understand how it could be in the power of any man but their employer, to take them off their work, expressing his surprise that the

men should say that they had been prevented from work, when no physical force was used. He added that a delegate was not a Sultan with autocratic powers. The other coal-porter, speaking from the back of the Court, said that the master dared not keep on a man who could not show a clean Union ticket, for orders would be immediately given to boycott him, and he could not get men to do his work. The master had to be careful what he was about, for he could not employ whom he liked. The magistrate could only again express his surprise at the "abject obedience to the dictates of a person who had no right whatever to interfere between employer and employed."

On August 9, 1890, in a case which was decided by a Leeds jury, it was stated in evidence that the Secretary of the Leeds Branch of the National Union of Operative Boot and Shoe Rivetters went to the employer of a boot finisher named Andrews, who was not a member of the Union, and described him as a "scab." He further (and this is the point) threatened to turn out the whole of the firm's men unless Andrews were discharged. The man was discharged; but he brought an action against the Secretary for the slander contained in the use of the word "scab," and the jury rewarded him £300 damages.

On September 18, 1890, a letter was published from the Secretary of the Union Steamship Company, stating that the Company were ready to let all the men who were on strike return to work at the rate of wages which they demanded, and that no distinction would be drawn between Unionists and non-Unionists. But this did not satisfy the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, which demanded that an old servant of the Company, who was not a Unionist, should be discharged. The Company refused to comply with this dictatorial demand, and so the dispute continued.

On September 26, 1890, the miners of Wearmouth Colliery, Sunderland, to the number of 1,500, who had just resumed work after a strike extending over sixteen weeks, again struck because the masters would not arrange for the

non-Union men, who had worked during the strike, to go down the pit separately and work in separate places.

On September 4, 1891, the *Standard* contained a letter from Mr. John Sennett, of Bermondsey, stating that when the Thames lightermen joined the Dock Strike, "out of sympathy," one of their number named Michael Crawley refused to join them. He was employed by a firm of granary keepers at Bermondsey, who refused to dismiss him upon the demand of the Lightermen's Union. At the end of the strike that Union fined him £5 for contumacy. He refused to pay, and in consequence was boycotted in the most cruel manner, both the Dockers' Union and the Southside Labour Protection League joining in the persecution. He was obstructed in every imaginable way in his work; he was several times brutally assaulted, and once he was thrown into the river. As a result of this treatment the poor fellow was described as being homeless and destitute, and "a wreck of his former self." For one case of this kind that appears in the public press, there are undoubtedly many of which nothing is heard.

On September 24, 1891, six hundred miners employed at Wannddyd Pit, Ebbw Vale, Monmouth, struck work. They were members of the Miner's Federation, and had resolved that unless their fellow workmen affiliated themselves with the Federation they would strike. The non-Federation men declined, and hence the stoppage.

On October 16, 1893, one hundred carpenters in the employ of Messrs. Spenser & Co., Longfellow Road, Bow, came out on strike. They were all Society men, and on the previous day a new hand had been introduced, who did not belong to any Trade Union. The Society men at once rebelled, and sent a deputation to the firm. Messrs. Spenser, however, refused to discharge the non-Unionist.

On October 18, 1893, a strike occurred among the men who were erecting the City of London Girls' School, in Carmelite Street. The contractors, Messrs. Hatherton and Latty, had engaged two non-Union carpenters on the

previous day, and as the other men belonged to the Building Trades' Federation they refused to work any longer. In this case the contractors discharged the two non-Unionists, who, as they shouldered their tools and walked away, were hooted by the rest of the workmen.

In June, 1894, work was stopped on the new premises which were being erected at Hendon Station by Messrs. Holloway Bros., for Schweppe & Co., mineral water manufacturers, owing to a disagreement among the bricklayers. These men objected to work any longer with the foreman, who was a non-Society man, and who had been employed by Messrs. Holloway for ten years. The men alleged that it is one of the unwritten laws of their Trade Union that men should not work with non-Union men, though there is no stipulation of this sort in the printed rules of the Union, by which alone the master builder is bound. Messrs. Holloway therefore declined either to discharge the foreman or to coerce him into joining the Union. Hence the strike. It will be observed that in this case the workmen were insisting upon an unwritten law, which is not to be found in the printed rules of their own Union, and that they were doing this, not simply in the case of an ordinary workman, but in regard to the foreman of works.

On July 5, 1894, a printer, named William Rice, appeared before Sir John Bridge, charged with failing to contribute towards the support of his illegitimate child. Rice said that he was out of work; but Sir John Bridge said there was plenty of work in the printing trade, and asked the man why he did not do some. Rice replied that he could not get the price he wanted. Sir John Bridge: "If you cannot get the price you want, take what you can get." Rice: "I must not do that." Sir John Bridge: "How is that?" Rice: "Because I am in the Union." Sir John Bridge: "Then leave the Union. If you cannot get three shillings, work for half-a-crown. If you cannot get half-a-crown, work for two shillings. It is shocking that a man should remain idle

because he belongs to the Union. The case is adjourned, and see that you pay. Go to work at once and support your child. You must get what money you can. Never mind the Union."

On July 12th, 1894, James Savage, described as a decent-looking working-man, living in London Street, Ratcliff, complained to Mr. Mead, the Thames police magistrate, that he had been discharged from his employment because he was not a member of the Dock Labourers' Union. He said he had to work hard to get a living, and considered it cruel that he should be discharged for such a reason. Mr. Mead said that he was very sorry for the applicant, adding that it was a system which prevailed at the present time. Some people said it was a good system. He would not say what he thought of it. Applicant could represent to his employer what a hardship it was that a respectable man should be turned adrift.

At the same Court a ship's fireman applied to Mr. Mead for his advice. He stated that he had been at work on one of Mr. Scrutton's West Indian boats, and that a delegate of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union came on board and informed the first and second engineers that if he was not discharged, all the other men would be called out, in consequence of which he was discharged. He stated that he belonged to the same Union, but that he belonged to the Tower Hill Branch, whilst the delegate in question belonged to the Greens Home Branch, and that there was a dispute between the secretary of the Tower Hill Branch and the general secretary of the Union. He said he considered it was hard that he could not work and at the same time had to pay 5d. a week to the union. Mr. Mead expressed his sympathy with the applicant, but said that he had no grievance in law, as he had not been intimidated. A second fireman made a similar application, and informed the magistrate that the general secretary of the Union was paying several men 30s. a week to boycott the members of the Tower Hill Branch.

Another man applied to Mr. Mead for his advice stating that he was a ship-builder, and that he had worked for one employer for some time at two guineas a week, and had never had a stain on his character. Nevertheless his employer discharged him, at the same time expressing his great regret at losing his services. He stated that he was unable to help himself, as the chairman of the strike committee had been and told him that unless the applicant was discharged, all the other workmen would be called out. The master emphatically stated that nothing but this coercion would have induced him to dispense with the applicant's services. The man stated that some of the strike committee had told him that they would crush him simply because he did not believe in all the committee did. At their demand he paid into their funds 3s. in one week towards the support of those on strike. Mr. Mead said that the applicant had to support other people who would not work, but that he could not see that he had any remedy against his employer, although he had discharged him in an irregular manner.

Mr. Thomas Ashton, Chairman of the Bolton Operatives Amalgamated Society, said some time ago at a public meeting in Oldham, that the cotton operatives were federated, and "before long they would be able to veto the workers who were not members of their association. They would simply inform the employers that so and so were not paying to their trade, and if they continued to work after that they would withdraw the whole of the Unionists from such mill, and it would have to stop until the employers came to the Unionist terms."

A Conference took place not long ago at the Mitre Hotel, Manchester, between the Central Committee of the North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association and delegates from the Amalgamated Association of Mule Spinners, Card-room hands and Ring Spinners, in reference to an intimation which had been received by certain employers that the Trade Unionists had

determined not to work with non-Unionists. The employers urged that they could not be a party to compelling non-Unionists to join Trade Unions, as it would be an infringement of the liberties of the operatives. The representatives of the workmen said that they had so much trouble and annoyance from non-Unionists that they had determined to do all in their power to make them become members. No resolution was arrived at by the Conference.

Now these are but a few samples, and perfectly fair and typical samples, of the incidents which the writer has himself collected; their number might be added to indefinitely. The coercion, boycotting, and ruthless intimidation to which these occurrences testify have been going on all over the country, to the great annoyance and injury of thousands of workmen and their families. Is it not a mockery to speak of England as a free country when such things as these are not only possible but are actually gloried in by supporters of Trade Unions, and are even winked at by politicians and by those who are in authority? We do not hesitate to say that England is utterly unworthy of the name of a free country whilst it is possible for even one man to be treated as Michael Crawley was treated, without being able to obtain any redress. But it is not only one man who is thus treated; there are scores of thousands of workmen to whom the very name of liberty is a mockery by reason of the persecution and tyranny of Trade Unions. Lord Salisbury was recently taken to task by Mr. Snape, M.P., for having stated in the debate on the Employers' Liability Bill that the contracting out amendment "was only opposed by the slaves of a cruel organization." "That," said Mr. Snape, "was the way Lord Salisbury described those who were members of Trade Unions, and the Trade Unions of which many in that meeting were members." When Lord Salisbury's attention was called to Mr. Snape's remarks, he disclaimed the intention of referring to Trade Unions and stated that the phrase, "a cruel organization," referred to the general

organization of the Radical Party. Lord Salisbury's actual words were these: "The refusal of the Government even to give us reasons for the somewhat over-bearing course they have pursued, proves that they are not acting on their own instructions or in obedience to motives which naturally guide them in dealing with the members of both Houses of Parliament, but that they are the victims of a dire necessity and the slaves of a cruel organization." Lord Salisbury's interpretation of his own words must of course be accepted; but as the Radical Party is indubitably inspired and controlled, to a very large extent, by the members and officials of Trade Unions the meaning is practically the same as though he had applied the words directly to Trade Unions themselves. At all events Lord Salisbury's language is a very terse and forcible description of Trades Unions, which, in the face of such evidence as we have adduced and shall adduce, may without doing them any injustice be emphatically described as cruel organizations.

It may be said that the facts which have been given are merely isolated and exceptional incidents, and that they are simply indiscretions and excesses such as always mark the course of any widespread movement, and that consequently it would not be fair to regard them as indicating the normal temper and action of Trade Unionism. But this plea cannot be allowed for a moment. For it is only too obvious that the tyrannous proceedings which we have criticized are but the natural expression of the spirit of Trade Unionism. The very essence of that spirit is selfishness; it views everything from the point of self-interest, not self-interest in its enlarged and enlightened form, but in its most perverted and degenerated form; and therefore it can brook no opposition or defiance, and regards those employers and workmen who dispute its wisdom and repudiate its authority as persons who are no longer entitled to the ordinary rights and liberties of citizens, who may properly be treated in the most intolerant and iniquitous manner, and subjected to injury and ignominy in their most oppressive and revolting forms.

There are four features of modern Trade Unionism which must ever be borne in mind : (1) That it is, and is becoming, more and more Socialistic in its tendencies and aims (on which point more presently) ; (2) That it aspires to be national and international ; (3) That it breeds a class of professional agitators whose very business it is to foment the ill humours of agitation and discontent among workmen, and to engender ill-will towards, and conflict with, employers ; and (4) That it regards boycotting and intimidation as legitimate weapons, and uses the latter against workmen and the former against employers, as unblushingly as the Irish Land Leaguers used them against landlords and honest tenants.

Reserving the first point for the present, let us glance briefly at the other three.

First, as to the international aspirations of Trade Unionism. No Trade Union nowadays is content to be merely a Union, exercising some sort of oversight and jurisdiction over the workmen of a particular locality ; it has higher ambitions, and must ally itself with some swelling Federation. Thus the miners are not satisfied with district or County Unions ; their policy is to affiliate every one of these local Unions with a huge central organization, covering the whole country. Of course, the object of the wily men who promote this policy of centralisation in Trade Unionism is to make themselves industrial dictators. It must be admitted that some of them have achieved their purpose but too well. Mr. Benjamin Pickard, for example, may without any exaggeration be entitled the Dictator of the English mining world. He holds the miners in the hollow of his hand ; he has but to speak the word or give the sign, and lo ! thousands of miners (free and independent men, these !) lay down their tools, and the mining industry of the nation is brought to a standstill, causing the paralysis of all other industries. We shall have more to say of Mr. Pickard's autocratic powers when we come to deal with the Coal Conciliation Board and its recent action ; for the present it is desired simply to indicate that he does wield such powers.

Now, it is the aim of Trade Unionism to give to other Trade Union officials the same power over other industries as Mr. Pickard sways over the coal trade, and thus to make it possible for half-a-dozen men, say Mr. Pickard, Mr. B. Tillett, Mr. J. H. Wilson, Mr. E. Harford, Mr. James Mawdsley, and Mr. H. Tait, to simultaneously paralyse the coal, cotton, shipping, and railway industries of Great Britain. Nay, their object is even more ambitious than this; for they hope, and they intend, to so perfect their organisation as to be able to stop all the chief industries of England, France, Germany, Belgium, the United States, and Australia, on one and the same day. Perhaps they may never be able to effect such a close and loyal international compact as would enable them to co-operate in this manner; at all events we may dismiss this project as being for many years to come outside the realm of the possible and the practicable, though the interaction of English and Australian Labour Unions during recent dock strikes is suggestive of possibilities that are rather alarming. If Trade Unionism can make itself national in this country, that is if it can organise all trades into Unions and then join these Unions into one central Federation, and thus secure unity of action and the ability to concentrate all its force at any given point, it will have triumphed; it will have made itself the supreme power in the land, a power above the Government, above Parliament, even above the law itself. National Trade Unionism, using intimidation and the boycott as its weapons, can ride roughshod over every institution in the kingdom—*except the Army*.

Unmistakably the trend of events is in the direction of nationalising Trade Unionism. The tactics which Messrs. Pickard and Woods have adopted in relation to the mining industry are also being pursued by other professional agitators in regard to our railway system. The object is the same in the one case as in the other, viz., to place a great industry absolutely under the thumb of one man, the very breath of whose nostrils is to promote ill-will and strife

between employers and employed. When we were discussing the question of Employer's Liability, it was pointed out that the hostility of the officials of the railway workmen's Unions towards the contracting-out clause was so fierce and bitter as to suggest that they had some ulterior object in view, and we expressed our belief that that ulterior object was to strengthen the grip of the Unions over the workmen of the London & Brighton and the London & North Western Railways, and to thus remove the only formidable obstacle which at present exists against a general railway strike. Whilst the workmen on these two great railway systems continue to make voluntary agreements with their employers as to compensation for accidents, &c., they are likely to remain loyal; whilst they remain loyal to their employers they will refuse to strike merely out of sympathy with other railway workmen at the behest of the Union Dictators; and they will also be available to assist in working other railways on which the men may have struck. If the Union officials could have worked their will by expunging the contracting-out clause of the Employers' Liability Bill, they would have secured the adhesion to their Union of practically all the railway workmen of the country, and would thus have been virtually able to paralyse our railway system any day they liked.

Secondly: Trade Unions bring into being a class of men whose business it is to sow the seeds of discord and strife, set masters against men, and men against masters. If it be thought that we speak harshly of professional agitators, we can only appeal to facts in justification, not only of such mild censures as we have passed upon them, but of denunciations ten times more severe which those facts would warrant us in pronouncing.* It is a notorious fact that

* The spirit of Trade Unionism in this respect was well exemplified at the Leicester election in August, 1894. One of the Liberal candidates was Mr. Walter Hazell, head of the firm of Hazell, Watson & Viney, printers, a man of highest character and a model employer. Mr. Hazell

wherever these men go they breed mischief. Men who were formerly contented with their lot, who enjoyed their work and took a pride in doing it well, and who regarded their employer with esteem, undergo a radical change for the worse: they grow discontented, imbibe a distaste for their work and do it indifferently, and begin to look upon their master as a dishonest exploiter of their labour. Then follow envy and distrust; class prejudices and passions are aroused; and ill-will and hatred reign where once mutual respect and harmony held sway. Is this a natural condition of things? Do employers, buyers of labour, and workmen, sellers of labour, naturally look upon each other with jealousy and dislike? Is this the normal relation between buyer and seller? Certainly not. These evil passions are called into being and into action by combination and by men who make combination a trade. In a natural scheme of things there would be no place for Trade Unions or for the agitators who promote them. They were never

employs some women compositors (about one tenth of the whole number), and this is a mortal sin in the eyes of Trade Unionists, one of whose characteristics is that they strive to stop every avenue of female employment. Mr. Hazell states, however, that his workmen are paid above the society scale, and he offered to pay the expense of a deputation from Leicester to his Aylesbury works that they might examine for themselves. The Leicester Trade Unionists, notwithstanding, attacked him in the most virulent manner. The secretary of the Typographical Society issued a statement in which he said: "A Trade Union town like Leicester must not be represented by a man connected with such a firm. It is an insult to Mr. Broadhurst, if his sympathies are still with Labour, to ask him to sit with such a colleague." The same association "implored working men to save Leicester from being eternally disgraced in the eyes of Trade Unionists of the country by electing a man like Mr. Hazell." Nevertheless, Mr. Hazell was elected. His victory ought to encourage other candidates to defy Trade Unionism to do its worst.

ordained by Providence. But Providence did ordain laws by which the balance is beautifully and perfectly preserved between buyers and sellers, whether they buy and sell labour or anything else. Leave these two classes alone, and by the help of the impersonal forces which are at work around them they will find out the value of that in which they deal, and they will do it both more quickly and more accurately than other people can do it for them. Where combinations of workmen and masters do not exist the value of labour is determined in a simple, natural, and effectual manner, and it is so determined independently of both men and masters. They find that the price is fixed for them by natural laws; in the homely phrase "things find their own level." The employer would like to get workmen for lower wages than he has to pay, but he finds that a certain rate rules in the market, and he has to give it; the workman, on the other hand, would like to get more wages than he does, but he finds that a certain price rules the market, and he is obliged to take it. Neither party gets exactly what he would like, but they both recognise that they have got the best terms they could, and they are satisfied. The matter was virtually settled for them by economic laws. Trade Unions violently and arbitrarily interfere with the free operation of natural economic laws, and they attempt to substitute for these laws an artificial system which has no clear and certain basis whatever. The result is that they blunder, bungle, and spread injury on every side. Under the natural system Capital and Labour, if they come into conflict, will do so as impersonal forces, and the antagonism will cease when the equilibrium is restored and each finds its own place and function. No bitterness is left behind. But the system of combination alters the nature of the conflict entirely, and instead of the dispute, or the attempt to strike a new bargain, being carried on in a cold scientific manner between two impersonal forces, it is degraded into a personal struggle between capitalists and labourers, in which the vilest passions of both the contending parties find free vent. Is

there any other case in which buyers and sellers treat—or maltreat—each other in this way? Master and workman really stand in the same relation to each other as shopkeeper and customer; one wishes to buy what the other wishes to sell; and any difficulty that may arise as to the bargain will soon be settled if the parties are left to themselves. The higgling of the market will bring them to the point of agreement. So it would be with masters and workmen if Trade Unions were forbidden to interfere.

Everybody knows that what is expressively called "a bad spirit" now exists between employers and employed, and that its subtle influence pervades society. It penetrates even to the obscure village, and permeates our homes, making domestic servants, both male and female, a distinctly inferior class to their predecessors of a generation ago. All alike seem to have got big notions as to their own value and importance; all alike seem to eye their employers with suspicion and envy. The Bishop of Manchester has stated in a recent work on "The Dangers of the Apostolic Age," that in the opinion of careful observers envy is spreading in Europe, and that men would rather be a little poorer if they could thereby prevent anybody else from being richer than themselves, whilst they are not content merely with enjoyment, but want as much of it as their neighbours. "That," adds the Bishop, "is the main reason for the demand in Socialistic Europe that the existence of private property in the form of capital should be arbitrarily forbidden." The Bishop is right. Envy is growing apace, and with it every other evil passion. And this is not surprising when we reflect upon the nature of the propaganda which is incessantly carried on among the working classes by Socialists, Trade Unionists, Anarchists, and other disturbers of society.

The ferocity and malignity with which Trade Unionists attack employers, whose only fault is that they deny the right of workmen to a disproportionate share of profit, is almost incredible. During the Dock strike, Mr. C. M.

Norwood was abused by Mr. John Burns and others in the most scurrilous and scandalous terms.* Mr. Cree says: "I sat one night last winter at a public meeting next a respectable working man, who, each time that a reference was made to landlords and capitalists, kept saying to himself in a solemn tone of deep conviction, 'Hell will be their portion.' Mr. Gray, the manager of the Silvertown Rubber Works, who is known to many of us in Glasgow as a singularly large-minded and warm-hearted man, was, during the strike of the Company's workers last year, each day held up to public odium in the columns of the London newspapers as a low, mean, sneaking ruffian, a murderer of women and children, and the men were quoted as hoping that they would be stokers in hell that they might give it to him hot." This, revolting as it is, is not at all exceptional. Employers are attacked in this fiendish manner during every great strike, and for a time their lives and those of their families are rendered almost intolerable. Benevolent employers are not excepted, but are treated the same as the worst of their class, the blind fury of Trade Unionism being incapable of discrimination—unless, indeed, it uses these brutal methods in a calculated and deliberate manner, in order to inspire terror and coerce employers into complying with its demands, lest worse things should happen to them.† Even the most ardent admirers of Trade Unions do not, dare not, attempt to justify these excesses on the part of their leaders and members; but some of them do feebly endeavour to palliate them, urging that the men do not mean all they say, and that their vocabulary is

* For details see Vol. I, Chap. I.

† Perhaps no man has done so much to benefit the miners of South Wales as Sir W. T. Lewis, the author of the Sliding Scale which is in force in that district. Yet during the coal strike in that region in 1893 threats of violence were openly used against Sir William and his family, who had to be specially protected.

strong because it is so limited. Every reasonable man, however, knows in his own heart and conscience that a system which produces such feelings as these between masters and men stands self-condemned, and that it is as irrational as it is un-Christian. In no other domain of life would it be supported, or even tolerated. Why should it be in the industrial domain?

The fourth feature of modern Trade Unionism is its use of intimidation and boycotting. That it does use these methods, and even glory in their use, has been abundantly demonstrated in the course of this work, though hitherto its most ambitious attempts at boycotting in this country have failed. But as an illustration of what the Trade Union boycott really means let us take a case from New Zealand. Messrs. Whitcomb & Tombs, of Christchurch, had a dispute with the Typographical Society, and were boycotted. The port of Lyttelton was ordered not to have any dealings with the offending firm, and as the officials did not obey, the port was boycotted. The next step was the boycotting of the Union Steamship Company because it continued to sail to Lyttelton, and all its men were called out. Then the railway was boycotted, the miners were withdrawn from the pits which supplied the steamers (even the pumping operations in the mines were threatened with suspension, to the permanent ruin of the mines), and all merchants and shopkeepers who dealt with the boycotted concerns were also boycotted. The secretary of the Maritime Council boasted that "the first man made to suffer by dismissal or suspension will be the signal for everything to stop from Auckland to the Bluff." This is boycotting with a vengeance! Even the Irish agitators in the worst days of the Land League could not vie with it. Yet this is but a typical example of what takes place in an English Colony under Trade Unionism. And this is the model which Trade Unionists in England are striving to imitate. In the glorious time to come, when Trade Unionism will be the dominant force among us, every trumpery dispute between

an employer and his men is to be magnified into a conflict between capital and labour all along the line, and unless the employer capitulates the entire industry of the nation is to be stopped. This is the Trade Union ideal. What is more, it is the logical—if you like, the extreme, but still logical—application of the principle of combination. Absurd it certainly is, and as wicked as it is absurd, nevertheless it is a legitimate deduction from the principles upon which Trade Unionism is founded. If it is right for miners to combine among themselves, how can it be wrong for them to combine with railway men, or for railway men to combine with sailors, and so on? And if one class has the right to stop mines, and another railways, why have not all the classes combined the right to stop everything? Those who have fostered Trade Unionism may yet discover that they have been rearing a monster which will by-and-bye devour them and all their possessions. To recur to the Arabian fable before alluded to, Trade Unionism is the camel trying to effect an entrance into the tent; it has already got its head inside, and before long its body will follow, and the Arab will find himself outside. It has been shrewdly surmised that some of the Socialist leaders, perceiving to what absurd lengths Trade Unionism may logically be carried, are deliberately pushing it to its extremest limits in order to sicken people of it and discredit the present social order, and thus cause Socialism to be hailed as a means of salvation. But we must not let Socialists ride off on that horse; for Trade Unionism, in so far as it is efficient for its purposes, is practically identical with Socialism.

We venture to maintain that we have proved to demonstration that Trade Unionism is a system of galling tyranny. Mr. Cree says: "The right to labour in any system of morality that I know of is indefeasible, and the right to give employment equally so, but the Unionist says to men, 'you shall not work'; and to masters, 'you shall not be allowed to give work?'" Slavery itself was more humane." Is there any justification, political or moral, for tyranny? None.

A system which depends upon tyranny is evil, only evil, and that continually. It is a marvel of marvels that Englishmen, with their traditional and inbred love of liberty, one of their grandest characteristics, should so long have permitted liberty to be mocked and trampled under foot by Trade Unionism.

One of the most cheering signs of the times, however, is that there is a determined revolt against the despotic system which we are describing, a strong re-action in favour of freedom. For some years the Free Labour movement has been slowly gathering strength, and it now bids fair to assume such proportions as will enable it to grapple successfully with Trade Unionism on its own ground. The germ of the movement appears to be contained in a letter by Admiral Elliot, which appeared in the *St. James's Gazette* of August 25th, 1890, and which the Admiral had been prompted to write by a leader which appeared in that journal two days previously. Admiral Elliot stated that he had been for ten years of his life closely associated with a working-class constituency, and yet he had "never failed to find a strong antipathy felt against any restriction of freedom of contract in the labour market as derogatory to the highest interests of manhood, and destructive to laudable ambition to excel," and he suggested that "assistance should be rendered to the unemployed to organize in self-defence by the formation of a Free Labour Union, supported by capitalists and public opinion, and that the protection of the forces of order should, as in all other countries, be made a reality and not a sham." Very little more was heard of the Free Labour movement until October 23rd, 1893, when an article upon the subject appeared in *The Times*, stating that a Congress had been convened by the Free Labour Association, which was to be held at the Foresters' Hall, Clerkenwell Road, in the course of a few days, and that it was to be attended by about a hundred representatives from London, together with representatives from important provincial towns. The aim of the Conference was stated to be "to lay down a

national system of common action to protect the industries of the country," and in the manifesto issued by the Association it was stated that the grave crisis which had been produced in our national history and commerce, was the work of "Socialists and New Union agitators." The manifesto proceeded: "We have come to the conclusion that the weapons of tyranny exercised by the New-fangled Trade Unionists are not only disastrous to the best interests of Trade Unionism, but simply a criminal blunder to labour all round. . . . What we desire is not the contraction of labour; what we desire is the freedom of labour! If a stone-mason, an engineer, or a carpenter and joiner, is willing to work (although in the Union) with a man who is not in the Union, why not? If that suits the old-established Trade Unionism, surely it ought to satisfy the craving and morbid desire of these New Union agitators, whose existence dates exactly from the day before yesterday." It was also emphatically declared that the recent strikes, by dislocating the commerce of the country, had caused most of the unemployed, and this advice was pressed upon the workmen: "Do away with the agitators and strikes, and there will be no more unemployed."

No doubt the Free Labour movement received considerable stimulus from the action of the Shipping Federation, which had from the first made it a leading principle to engage Union or Non-Union men without distinction, which is the principle of Free Labour. The men are left to be Unionists or not just as they please, and they are required to bind themselves to work in harmony with Unionists or Non-Unionists alike. Upon this basis the Shipping Federation had registered no less than 128,000 seamen up to the end of September, 1893, and a very large number of dock labourers had been engaged upon the same conditions. The result of this is that Southampton, Plymouth, Dublin, Cardiff, and to a great extent Hull and London, have been made free labour ports. A very large proportion of the men thus engaged by the Shipping Federation were

known to be Unionists, but they had no sympathy with the tactics of the Trade Union leaders.

On October 31, 1893, the Free Labour Congress duly assembled, about 150 delegates being present from various parts of the country. Mr. J. Chandler was elected chairman, and he stated in his opening address that the necessity for the formation of free labour associations, composed of all sections of the wage-earning classes, was amply shown by the fact that only one out of every ten of the adult workers belonged to any Trade Union. He proceeded:—"Since the dock strike the conduct of the new Socialist Trade Unions had been characterized by tyranny and coercion of the worst description, practised towards the overwhelming majority who declined to join and pay into the funds of the new unions. The tyrannous conduct of the managers of the new unions towards the free labourers by refusing to work with them and subjecting them to physical violence was unwarranted, inasmuch as the free labourer did the same amount of work and received the same wages as the unionist, and in many cases the free labourer received more permanent employment. The free labourers as a body refused to give their money to a so-called labour union to pay the salaries of secretaries and delegates and others, who in many cases were thorough outsiders, whose only object was to make strife between employers and the workmen, to foment strikes, and to pocket their salaries, which were paid out of the salaries of the men and were often three times as much as they would earn at their ordinary employment. The secretary of the Dockers' Union had recently publicly stated that he had taken part in upwards of 200 strikes and that the London dock and wharf labourer had obtained as much as £2,000,000 in advance in wages. This gross misstatement was quite in keeping with most of the public utterances of the new union leaders. Where had the £2,000,000 more wages gone to? Why was there such great distress if so much additional wages had been earned? The actual advance of wages to the dockers by the strike of

1889 was an advance of 5d. a day of eight hours' labour. The half-hour meal time allowed by the masters was signed away by the leaders. The dock companies had now engaged a large number of younger and stronger men as permanent hands, most of these workers coming from districts outside the metropolis. The dock companies had done that to protect themselves from the senseless and repeated strikes promoted by the managers and delegates of the new unions, so that the aggressive organizations and their Socialistic leaders were, without doubt, mainly responsible for the accumulation of unemployed labour in the East-end and the whole Port of London. The principles which the Free Labour Association advocated were a fair day's labour for a fair day's pay; freedom of action to sell their labour in the best possible market and to obtain the best available conditions from their employers in the interests of themselves and families; to limit, and, if possible, do away with strikes altogether; and, above all, to protect and defend the members of the association against the tyranny, despotism, and outrage of the new unions and their arrogant and conceited leaders. He had worked from the lowest rung of the ladder to the top and had been a prominent Trade Unionist, but he believed that such a body as the Free Labour Association would be of great use in labour disputes. Nine out of ten strikes were not necessary.'

The following resolutions were carried :—

1. "That in the opinion of this Congress, the effect of the recent senseless and abortive strikes which have occurred in many branches of industry, both in London and throughout the country, have had a most disastrous effect upon the living standard of the wage-earning classes, and being also a standing menace to the trade and commerce of the Empire, more especially when viewed in relation to the present system of unrestricted foreign competition, and this Congress resolves to do everything in its power to put a stop to the aforesaid uncalled for strikes, so as to promote better feelings between employers and employed."

2. "That this Congress declares the time has arrived when it is urgently necessary for the prompt establishment of branches of the Free Labour Association in every industrial centre throughout the country, composed of all sections of workers who believe in the just principles of freedom of labour as being an imperative necessity to safeguard the general body of labour from the tyranny and dictation of the new Socialistic Labour Unions, and that it be an instruction to the executive committee to take such steps as will carry into effect the foregoing resolution."

3. "That this Congress, bearing in mind the system of intimidation and coercion practised by Union pickets during the recent disastrous strikes, whereby the common law of the land has been practically set aside, most earnestly calls for an amendment of the law relating to unlawful picketing, with a view to secure the just liberty of the subject, for a workman to sell his labour in the best market during the internecine warfare arising from labour conflicts."

These resolutions were spoken to by various working men, who represented the trades of plasterer, sail-maker, tailor, painter, cooper, city warehouseman, ship's steward, railway workman, and seaman. It was stated that branches of the Free Labour Association would immediately be formed in large provincial centres.

There can be no doubt that the Free Labour movement represents something very substantial in the labour world. It is not only a revolt from, and a protest against, the tyranny and the stupidity of the New Unionism, but it is also an expression of the deep-seated disgust which has been caused amongst the unskilled labourers by the failure of the New Unionism to do them one particle of good. Great things were promised to them at the outset, when the New Unionism was apparently floating to success on the tide of sentiment which was evoked by the dock strike. Not only were these promises found to be delusive, but a very considerable number of workmen found that their position had been made distinctly worse by the various riverside

strikes which occurred between 1889 and 1891. These strikes no doubt led to better organisation of labour in the docks, and that meant that a small number of permanent labourers were substituted for a large number of casual labourers; that again meant that the casual labourers thus displaced were left without employment, and every one of these casual labourers, who before the strike could earn something and after it could earn nothing, in his heart cursed the New Unionism. Every one of these dock strikes produced results which were disastrous to a large number of men who had previously in some way subsisted upon labour at the docks, and who now found themselves without work or bread. Besides this, almost all the new Trade Unions which had sprung up like mushrooms during these strikes, quickly withered and died, and even the stronger of these Unions, viz., the Dockers and Sailors' Unions, have been utterly discredited and almost wrecked. The failure of these Unions of course involved the frustration of the hopes of thousands of men who had been led to expect immense benefits from them. The result was to create a feeling of revulsion towards Trade Unionism in the minds of multitudes who had enthusiastically supported it, and it caused an entire change of sentiment towards the agitators who had supported these Unions, and fed their dupes upon promises. Hence men like Mr. Ben Tillett and Mr. Tom Mann were almost afraid to show themselves on the platform at a dockers' meeting, lest they should be torn limb from limb by those whom they had deluded. In a word, the New Trade Unionism was soon discovered to be a fraud, and the men who had been defrauded by it were in no very amiable mood. This was only what sensible men foresaw all along. They knew well enough that Messrs. Burns, Mann, Tillett, and the rest, were undertaking to do what no man could possibly accomplish, and that by and bye there would be a rude awakening. Trade Unionism is not omnipotent. Like all other forms of human effort, it is limited by the nature of things. It is adapted only to certain conditions.

Where the workmen are numerous and skilled, have a certain natural monopoly in their employment, and are able to make their Unions friendly and benefit societies as well as fighting organizations, Trade Unions may do such good as they are capable of doing. But where the opposite conditions prevail, and the workers are ignorant and unskilled, as well as numerous, have no monopoly of employment, and do not care one whit—are taught by their leaders not to care one whit—for the friendly and benefit side of Unionism, Trade Unionism is doomed to fail. The new Trade Union leaders thought that their Unions could live by war alone, and indeed they seem still to think so, and this is one of their fundamental mistakes.

The Free Labour movement has already won one notable victory. During the year 1894 the Trade Unionists of London who are connected with the Building Trades' Federation, and particularly those of them who are employed by the London County Council, made a serious effort to exclude non-Unionists from the service of the Council. The matter was brought to a crisis by the action of a foreman of deal porters who was employed at the central works of the Council in Belvedere Road, Lambeth, and who, after six months' experience of Trade Unionism, decided to abandon it and be a non-Unionist. His conduct gave serious offence to the Unionists, who endeavoured in various ways to induce him to give up his attitude of independence, and also to secure his discharge from the works. He was practically boycotted by the men, but he remained firm, telling them plainly that he defied them. Deputations waited upon the heads of the departments, with the view of inducing them to take action, but the man still remained at his work. The Unionists held three meetings to discuss the matter, and as a result of these conferences they decided that, subject to the approval of the federated members of the building trades, all the Unionists employed by the London County Council, representing 3,000 men, should come out on strike. In

harmony with this decision they issued the following circular:—

“ For the use of Employees only.

“ London County Council Central Works, Belvedere-road.

“ Fellow - Workmen,—In accordance with the resolution passed unanimously at the meeting of all sections of the building trade employed at these works, on the 11th of April, we—the elected delegates—earnestly request every unionist to bring the following resolution before the members of your branch or lodge, and see that the same be forwarded to the London Building Trades Federation—with the opinion of your members thereon—at the earliest possible date; especially in view of the fact that in all cases the appointments of foremen are made from non-unionists notorious for their opposition to trade-unionism. The effect of this is evident in the disputes that have occurred, and others that are pending.

“ Resolution.

“ “ This meeting hereby decides to take the opinion of the federated members of the building trades upon the expediency of striking against non-union men employed by the London County Council, and, should such opinion be in favour of resistance to work with non-unionists, we request the London Building Trades Federation to obtain the consent of the federated trades to withdraw their members in the employ of the Council until a satisfactory settlement be obtained.’

(Signed)

“ Bricklayers, G. BEDFORD; Masons, C. BAILEY; Labourers, J. M’INTOSH; Iron Workers, W. ASHDOWN; Machinists, W. HATCHER; Painters, H. VOSPER; Carpenters and Joiners, H. ALDINGTON, Secretary.”

It will be observed that although the conduct of one man was made the pretext for this action on the part of the unionists, the language of the circular clearly indicates that there were other causes at work and that the real question at issue was whether non-unionists should be tolerated at

all. It was confidently expected by the men that the Building Trades Federation would give its consent to the proposed strike, and that if it did, the Works Committee of the London County Council, in view of the strength of the Trade Unionist vote in Lambeth, would surrender to the demands of the unionists, and thus avoid the stoppage of a number of important building operations which the County Council had in hand. Such surrender on the part of the Council would of course have meant that in future only such men, and especially such foremen, should be employed by the Council as the Trade Union leaders approved, and that all chance of employment would be denied to the non-unionist, however competent a workman he might be.

On June 25, 1894, a deputation from the National Free Labour Association waited upon the Works Committee of the London County Council, and submitted a statement with reference to the alleged refusal of the Council, or the Council's officials, to employ workmen who could not show the ticket of the Building Trades' Federation. The deputation consisted entirely of representatives of various branches of the building trade, and in putting their case they stated that an overwhelming number of the workmen employed by the Council were members of Trade Unions, and that those non-union men who were in the service of the Council owed their position to influence which had been specially exerted on their behalf by members of the Council. Specific instances were given of work being refused to men who could not show the Trade Union ticket before alluded to, the examples given relating to the works at Spring Gardens, at Westminster Bridge, at Bishopsgate Fire Brigade Station, and at Victoria Park. Twelve men were in attendance to give evidence in support of the statement of the deputation, and seven of them were examined individually by the Committee, who accepted the men's statements and promised that the question should be thoroughly investigated. It is significant that Mr. John Burns, Mr. Crooks, and other "labour" members of the

Council, although they were present, did not put any question to these witnesses.

On July 3, 1894, the following circular letter was sent by the National Free Labour Association to each member of the London County Council:—

“Dear Sir,—As we are anxious that a searching investigation should be made into the alleged practice of the Works Department of the London County Council in refusing employment to non-union workmen, we wish to draw your attention to the following facts:—The Works Department has, firstly, denied the existence of the practice we complain of, and, secondly, states that no distinction is made between union and non-union men, and that at the present time it is employing several non-union men. In our deputation of June 25, we brought forward seven separate cases of men who had been refused work in consequence of not holding a union ticket, and in every case the witnesses’ evidence remained unshaken. We have also in our possession a great number of other instances which prove our charge to be absolutely unanswerable. With reference to the second part of the Works Department’s denial, the department at present employs seven union men to every one non-union man, and this in spite of the fact that an overwhelming proportion of workmen in the building trades are non-unionists. From the return of the Registrar of Trade Unions, the members of trade unions in the building trades are only 15 per cent. of the workmen employed in those trades, the remaining 85 per cent. being non-unionists. We cannot, in the face of these facts, see how the statement of the Works Department that ‘no distinction is made between union and non-union men,’ can be upheld, for if this were actually the case, not merely ‘several,’ but the very much larger proportion of men employed by the Works Department at the present time would be non-unionists. We sincerely trust that you will use your influence, in order that the unjust practice which undoubtedly does exist should at once be put a stop to, and

in doing so you will earn the sincere gratitude of every non-union workman in the kingdom."

On July 18th the Works Committee reported upon the matter to the Council, stating that they had enquired into the allegations of the Free Labour Association, and that the real complaints came from one trade only, viz., the painters, and were confined to three jobs—Westminster Bridge, Bishopsgate Fire Station, and the Central Offices of the Council. They expressed their regret that the statement in regard to Bishopsgate Street Fire Station was "probably true," as the foreman, who had since left the Council's service, did appear in some instances to have asked men whether they were Unionists or not. They further stated that the other instances of alleged discrimination in favour of Unionists were denied, and that the foremen in the Council's employ, or some of them, had "expressed their belief" that one third of the number of men under them were non-Unionists. The most important statement in the Committee's report, however, was that all the foremen had been instructed that they were not to enquire whether the men belonged to a Union or not before they engaged them. Mr. Emden moved that the report should be referred back to the Committee that they might reconsider the matter, on the ground that no proper examination had been made as to the relative proportions of Unionists and non-Unionists employed in the Works Department, and both he and Colonel Rotton emphatically stated that the report itself showed that an undue preference had been given to Trade Unionists. It must be admitted, however, in view of the pronounced Trade Unionist proclivities of the London County Council, and the prominence of certain labour agitators upon that Council, that the Free Labour Association scored a distinct triumph in securing for non-Unionists equal opportunities with the Unionists in regard to employment under the Council.

The promoters of the National Free Labour Association,

encouraged by the success of their conference and by the sympathy expressed with their efforts from all parts of the country, resolved to organize the movement in all the leading ports and industrial centres throughout the kingdom. Their policy is to have a Central Council in London and also district councils in the provinces, and that the latter, whilst adhering to the general rules and principles of the Association, should have considerable latitude in applying those rules and principles to local conditions, so that no hard and fast line should be drawn for the whole country. Districts are to have local branches, so that a network of Free Labour Associations should cover the country, every branch of labour being embraced without any restriction. Active operations have already been set on foot in Dover, Portsmouth, Southampton, the Bristol Channel ports, Liverpool, the Clyde ports, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Birmingham, Hull, Sheffield, and Watford. It is proposed to open an office in all important centres, at which office a register is to be kept of all men who are willing to work on Free Labour principles, that is with either Unionists or non-Unionists, and without any restriction as to their own right to remain or to become Trade Unionists if they think proper. Employers in want of men who accept Free Labour principles will of course seek them at these offices, and give them the preference of employment. It is also proposed that in every district there should be a Board of Arbitration, consisting of an equal number of masters and of men, representing the different trades, to which Board all disputed questions as to wages, hours, etc., would be submitted. Men who become members of the Free Labour Association are required to contribute two shillings a year towards working expenses. As was to be expected, a large number of employers and of employers' associations throughout the country have expressed their intention of supporting this movement, though at the same time they are careful to state that they have no desire to interfere with legitimate Trade Unionism

and its objects. From these employers' associations no fixed subscription is required, but they are left free to give such pecuniary support to the movement as they may be able or willing to afford.

All things considered this Free Labour Movement is one of the most hopeful signs of the time, and it deserves the hearty support of all who believe that British workmen and British employers are entitled to the enjoyment of those rights and liberties which are supposed to be the inalienable birthright of every British citizen.

Another charge in the indictment which we are in duty bound to frame against Trade Unionism is that it encourages idleness, and that it does this upon principle, thus exalting laziness into a duty. Of course the Unions are not so simple as to state in their rules that every workman is to do as little work as he decently can in order to make work for others. But these organisations have their unwritten laws as well as their written ones, and this is one of the unwritten ones. And experience proves that unwritten laws are more scrupulously observed than written ones, because they usually appeal more directly to the lowest elements in human nature. In obedience to this unwritten law we find Unionist workmen giving the smallest possible amount of work for the largest possible amount of wages. They dawdle, waste—that is steal—their employer's time, and they think it a virtue to do so because they thus provide employment for other workmen, which simply means that they compel the employer to pay twice over for his labour. Some Unions, moreover, openly insist upon a uniform rate of output and wages, or in other words they restrict both production and remuneration within arbitrary limits, and thus reduce all workmen in those industries to one level of efficiency, and that a low one, and prevent the full and natural development of the superior workman's powers. In short, the policy of Trade Unionism is to repress the energies and the skill of the most efficient men, lest they should do too much work for their employers, and, by

earning higher wages than their fellows, rise to be foremen and employers themselves.

This feature of Trade Unionism manifests itself very clearly in connection with piece-work. M. Thiers contended that the piece-work system was the most just of all methods of remuneration, inasmuch as it rewards each worker in exact proportion to both the quantity and the quality of his labour, which day work does not; whilst equal wages for all, irrespective of ability or diligence, which is the ideal of Socialism, and towards which Trade Unionism approximates, is of course both unrighteous and irrational. Trade Unionists are almost fanatically opposed to the system of piece-work. Why? For no other reason apparently than that they think each man does more work and earns more money under this system than he would under any other. It is too powerful a stimulus to industry. "One of the most discreditable indications of a low moral condition given of late by part of the English working classes is the opposition to piece-work. When the payment per piece is not sufficiently high, that is just ground of objection. But dislike of piece-work in itself, except under mistaken notions, must be dislike to justice and fairness—a desire to cheat by not giving work in proportion to pay. Piece-work is the perfection of contract, and contract in all work, and in the most minute detail—the principle of so much pay for so much service carried out to the utmost extremity—is the system of all others, in the present state of society and degree of civilisation, most favourable to the worker, though most unfavourable to the non-worker who wishes to be paid for being idle."*

Mr. G. F. Trollope, who gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee upon this subject, was asked :

"Have you found that since the general establishment of Unions there has been a less amount of work done in a given time?"

* John Stuart Mill, *Political Economy*, p. 469-70, People's Edition.

"I cannot speak to that," was Mr. Trollope's reply, "because they say that the Unions had begun to be established before my time, but I mean to say that it has been growing worse and worse. I have sometimes said to some of my men who were at work in the joiner's shop—'Now come, do you mean to say that that is a fair day's work?' And the answer has been—'Well, sir, it is not, but I am not allowed to beat my mates.' That means—'I am not allowed to do more than others.' I said to a young man from the country, some months ago, who was walking along the street going to his work—'Where are you going?' 'Oh, I am going to Mr. So-and-so's to work.' That was about two o'clock in the day. I said—'At what time do you expect to get there?' He said—'I do not know, sir.' I said—'At the pace you are going at, you will get there when it is time to leave off.' He came to me afterwards and said—'Sir, I am very sorry to say it, but we are not allowed to sweat ourselves *if we are walking in your time.*'"

"Are we to infer from that," Mr. Trollope was then asked, "that there is a restriction as to the pace at which men are to walk?"

"There is a sort of understanding," he answered, "between them that they are not to walk too fast. Their theory is this (and a most absurd theory it is), that if there is work for three to be done, and they can somehow scheme it that four men shall be employed, they are doing their cause a service, and then they tell us—'If it is on day work, it does not matter a pin to you; the public have to pay for it, and you can put your profit on the wages. If it is a contract, we can understand how you may lose, but if it is not, what is the difference to you?'"*

It is unnecessary to elaborate this point further, as we have said quite sufficient to prove that the regulations and

* *Minutes of Evidence on Trade Unions*, presented to Parliament in 1867.

customs of Trade Unions are unfavourable to the development of diligence; that their very genius makes for the repression rather than for the stimulus of industry; that they encourage the slowest man to set the pace and the mediocre man to set the standard of quality; that they are consequently unjust both to the employer and the workman, because they prevent the latter from making the most of his own faculties and the former from receiving the best his men can give; and, therefore, that they are in restraint of trade and inimical to the interests of the community. In plain English, they foster idleness. Just as there is a "Government stroke," so there is a "Trade Union pace" and a "Trade Union standard."

In addition to what we have felt constrained to say above by way of criticism and censure upon Trade Unionism, we have now to point out that during the last few years it has undergone a process of rapid deterioration. Under the influence of Socialism it has totally changed the character which it manifested during its best days, until now it is little better than an auxiliary of the Socialistic movement. This change has undoubtedly been going on for several years, but it was accelerated and accentuated by the Dock strike. Since then the descent has been swift indeed. The new Trade Unionism, which was an offspring of the old Trade Unionism, has virtually eaten up its progenitor, so that the only Trade Unionism which is now worth considering is the new or Socialistic Trade Unionism. It might be contended, however, that the new unionism is only reverting to the original type. Mr. Justin McCarthy, in his "History of Our Own Times," says:—"Ordinary intimidation had long been regarded as one of the means by which some of the trades unions kept their principles in force. Now, however, (that is in 1867) it was common report that secret assassination was in many cases the doom of those who brought on themselves the wrath of the trades unions. For many years the great town of Sheffield had had a special notoriety in consequence of the outrages of the kind that were com-

mitted there. When a workman had made himself obnoxious to the leaders of some local trade union, it occasionally happened that some sudden and signal misfortune befel him. Perhaps his house was set on fire; perhaps a canister of gunpowder was exploded under his windows, or some rudely-constructed infernal machine was flung into his bedroom at night." Outrages of this kind became so numerous in Sheffield and so atrocious in their character, that the whole community was stirred to its depths. The Government and the employers offered large rewards for information as to the criminals, and the employers charged the local trade unions with being the authors of the crimes. The officials of these unions indignantly denied the charge, and in some cases they even offered rewards on their own account. A public meeting was held in Sheffield to give expression to the indignation which was felt upon the matter, and William Broadhead, who was one of the speakers, excelled all the rest in the vehemence with which he denounced these distardly crimes, as well as in the eloquence with which he repelled the charge that trades unions had anything whatever to do with the outrages. The Government appointed a Commission to investigate the matter, and the whole conspiracy was brought into the light of day. To quote Mr. McCarthy again, "It was soon put beyond dispute that more than one association had systematically employed the most atrocious means to punish offenders against their self-made laws, and to deter men from venturing to act in opposition to them. The Saw Grinders' Union in Sheffield had been particularly active in such work, and the man named William Broadhead, who had so indignantly protested the innocence of his Union, was the secretary of that organisation. Broadhead was proved to have ordered, arranged, and paid for the murder of at least one offender against his authority, and to have set on foot in the same way various deeds scarcely, if at all, less criminal. The crimes were paid for out of the funds of the Union. There were grada-

tions of outrage, ascending from what may be called mere personal annoyance up to the serious destruction of property, then to personal injury, to mutilation, and to death. 'Rattening' was one of the milder forms of tyranny. The tools of obnoxious workers were destroyed; machinery was spoiled. Then the houses of the obnoxious were blown up, or cans of explosive material were flung into them at night. In one instance a woman was blinded, in another a woman was killed. Men were shot at with the object of so wounding them as to prevent them from carrying on their work; one man was shot at and killed. . . . Broadhead himself came before the examiners, and acknowledged the part he had taken in the direction of such crimes. He explained how he had devised them, organised them, selected the agents by whom they were to be committed, and paid for them out of the funds of the union. The men whom he selected had sometimes no personal resentment against the victims they were obtained to mutilate or destroy. They were ordered and paid to punish men whom Broadhead considered to be offenders against the authority and the interests of the union, and they did the work obediently. In Manchester a state of things was found to exist only less hideous than that which prevailed at Sheffield. It was among the brickmakers of Manchester that the chief offences were committed. The clay which offending brick-makers were to use was sometimes stuffed with thousands of needles in order to pierce and maim the hands of those who unsuspectingly went to work with it. The sheds of a man who dismissed union men were burned with naphtha. An obnoxious man's horse was roasted to death. Many persons were shot at and wounded. Murder was done in Manchester too. Other towns were found to be not very far distant from Sheffield and Manchester in the audacity and ingenuity of their trade outrages."

These facts will give some idea of the nature and effects of Trade Unionism in its earliest days. In some respects even the new unionism is an improvement upon this state

of things. The fact that such intimidation, outrage and murder could be conceived and practised, and the further fact that those who devised and executed those atrocious deeds could persuade themselves that they were actually doing what was right, prove that there is something essentially evil at the core of Trade Unionism, just as the occurrences of similar deeds in Ireland a few years ago proved that the Land League was radically immoral and wicked. It may be true that the worst elements of Trade Unionism will not show themselves during periods of normal tranquility and prosperity; an institution must, however, be judged not merely by what it does when things are going well, but also by what it does when they are going ill. Perhaps there is no higher test of the civilisation, the morality, the humanity, the self-restraint, and the self-respect of a nation than its behaviour during war; and in like manner there is no severer test of the judgment, the discipline, and the manhood of Trade Unionists, than the way in which they act in great industrial conflicts. By that test Trade Unionism must be tried; by the result of that test it must be judged. When Trade Unionists will do unto a labourer as they would have him do to them; when they will accord to every other workman the liberty which they claim for themselves; in other words, when they can go on strike and keep on strike without injuring the property of their employers or the persons of their fellow workmen, and preserve an attitude of impartiality and of calmness; when they are willing to fight for legitimate ends with legitimate weapons, and according to fair and honourable rules of warfare—then, and not till then, will they be able truly to boast that Trade Unionism is a beneficent power in the land.*

* It is noteworthy that Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb, in their "*History of Trade Unionism*," recently published, after tracing the course of the events which have converted many Trade Union leaders from Individualistic to Socialistic views, leave the reader face to face with this problem:

In order to perceive to what extent the Trade Union movement has been permeated by the spirit of Socialism, we have but to glance at the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress during the last four years. The Congress of 1889 was held at Dundee, under the presidency of Mr. Ritchie, secretary of the Dundee United Trades Council. It will be remembered that the Dock strike was then going on in London, and the first act of the Congress was to pass a resolution expressing the opinion that the Dock labourers of London were "more than justified" in the position they had taken up, and that their employers were acting in a most tyrannical and arbitrary manner in refusing the moderate demand of the men. Mr. Henry Broadhurst was then the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, and the report which he submitted on this occasion bore unmistakable evidence of the friction which was already being caused between the Socialistic Trade Unionists and those of the old school. The report said: "Those who spread dissensions in the Unions and seek to destroy Unionism by vehemently attacking its prominent representatives, we unhesitatingly declare to be people unworthy of confidence, and who should be shunned accordingly. The old enemies of Trade Unionism found that to abuse all only resulted in consolidating our ranks. Its new enemies have learnt the serpent's wisdom, and make their attacks in detail. Their emissaries enter our camp in the guise of friends, in order that they may the better sow the seeds of disruption. Let the workers beware of them. During the year your Committee, and especially your secretary, have been the objects of calumnies and misrepresentation

"How far it is possible . . . to render the Trade Union world with its million of electors, and its leadership of labour, an effective political force in the State, is, on the whole, the most momentous question of contemporary politics." We cannot conceive of old-fashioned Trade Unionists taking such a view. All they asked or sought from the State was freedom of *status*, of action, of opportunity.

of a nature calculated to destroy the foundations of Unionism and of the Congress. We point out the danger and unmask their policy. It is for you to decide whether your enemies shall triumph, or whether you yourselves will continue to hold the field of Unionism. We ask the trades to make up their minds on the present situation, and to decide what their future policy shall be. If the men who have been attacking us are truthful guides and honest men, then follow them. If, on the other hand, they are enemies in disguise, then avoid them accordingly. No progress can be made while dissensions reign in our camp, and those who create discord are not worthy of the association of earnest men."

Mr. Ritchie, in his presidential address, expressed his opinion that the Congress would mark an important epoch in the history of Trade Unionism, if indeed it did not lead "to a very large extension of its scope and aims"; and he pointed out that the spirit of discontent was steadily permeating the wage earning classes. The most marked characteristic of the president's address was that he was anxiously striving all the way through to balance himself on a tight-rope between the New Unionism and the Old, now inclining to one side and then to the other.

The chief feature of the Congress was the attack made upon Mr. Broadhurst in connection with the closing sentences of his report, a dead set being made against him by the New Unionist party, but in the end a vote of confidence was passed in him, and he was re-elected to the position of secretary.

Mr. J. Keir Hardie moved a series of resolutions which he stated to be as nearly as possible a transcript of the resolutions passed at the recent International Workmen's Congress which he had attended in Paris, and at which over 1,100 delegates from all parts of the world were present. Mr. Hardie declared that "some of these were Trade Unionists, some were members of political parties, and *nearly all were Socialists.*" The resolutions were as follows:

“That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to take action on the following resolutions:—1. The passing of labour legislation being a necessity in all countries to meet the industrial development of recent years, and to prevent further physical and moral degradation of the workers, the Congress proposes the following as a basis of such legislation:—(1) The *maximum* working day for all trades to be eight hours; (2) prohibition of the industrial work of children under 14 years of age and restriction of the work of young persons under 18 years of age to six hours per day; (3) prohibition of night work, with the exception of those industries in which continued work is an absolute necessity; (4) prohibition of the employment of women in such industries as are known to be specially hurtful to the female organism; (5) absolute prohibition of night work for women and young persons under 18; (6) a rest of at least 36 uninterrupted hours each week; (7) prohibition of such industries and such modes of production as are specially injurious to the worker; (8) proper inspection of all working places where industrial work is performed, domestic industries included, by a sufficient number of inspectors paid by the State, of whom at least half must be nominated by the workers themselves. 2. The Congress further declares that these reforms can only be finally established by legal enactment, though much may be done to advance them by the ordinary Trade Union methods; it therefore calls on the workers to organize politically and industrially, so as to realise these reforms soon. 3. That the Congress declares it to be the duty of all workers to support the Swiss Government in its desire towards an International Congress of the Governments of the world in order to formulate international treaties for the better protection of labour. 4. The Congress approves the proposal to make the 1st of May, 1890, a universal holiday on which to hold mass meetings in furtherance of the eight hours working day.”

These resolutions were, however, a little too much for

the stomach of the Congress, and the matter was shelved by moving the previous question, which was carried by 75 to 49. But even this Congress voted almost unanimously in favour of an Eight Hours' Bill for miners, and in support of a resolution which declared that no reform of the land laws short of Land Nationalisation would be satisfactory.

The Trade Union Congress of 1890, which was held at Liverpool, testified to a distinct retrograde tendency on the part of Trade Unions towards Socialism. Previous to the assembling of the Congress the executive of the Dockers' Union instructed its delegate to the Congress to urge all Trade Unionists to unite in securing the payment of Trade Union wages and a maximum day of eight hours in Government dock-yards; and to take some steps to prevent agricultural labourers taking the place of Unionists who were on strike, and to adopt "a general system of boycott" against employers, railways, and even against goods. Mr. John Burns addressed a meeting at Price's Candle Factory, and stated that Trade Unions in the future must be "less rate-reducing societies for the middle and upper classes, less of sick and burial societies, and less societies for providing for a man's widow when he was dead, and they must get the workmen reduced hours and higher wages." The old Trade Unions ought to have done this, "and they would have done it if they had put forth their fighting powers instead of allowing themselves to be dodged, chloroformed, and hounded by party politicians for dirty political party purposes." He further stated that thousands of landlords were immensely rich, drove their four-in-hand, kept hunters, kept town and country houses, lived lives of luxury and in many cases of riotous debauchery, at the expense of the workers; and that "when he went to the East End of London and found women and girls working for less money than what was spent upon the keep of a greyhound, a donkey, or a horse, he felt flinty hearted and inclined to take desperate measures against those who are responsible for this state of things."

At Liverpool the Congress was presided over by Mr. C. Matkin, who declared himself in favour of Land Nationalization and of the nationalization of railways and mines as well. He also approved of municipal factories and workshops. On this occasion Mr. Broadhurst took his farewell as secretary, and Mr. C. Fenwick, M.P., was elected in his place. At this Congress a resolution was carried in favour of an Eight Hours' Day in all trades, enacted and enforced by law. In other words, representatives of the Trade Unionists of this country deliberately recorded their opinion that Parliament ought to render it a crime, punishable by fine and penalty, for any man or woman to work at any trade or occupation for more than eight hours a day! Clearly the new and Socialistic Trade Unionism had triumphed over the old Trade Unionism. Some idea of the Socialistic tendency of this Congress may be gathered from the following record of its work. Resolutions were passed in favour of: 1. Amendment of the Employers' Liability Act; 2. Extension of the Factory Acts; 3. Increase of factory inspectors; 4. Protection of life at sea; 5. Licensing of engine and boiler men; 6. Certificates for shipwrights; 7. Certificates for persons in charge of steam barges or vessels; 8. A law to exclude foreign labour. 9. Extension of Merchandise Marks Act to goods of home manufacture; 10. Licensing of all places where workpeople are employed; 11. Making the stoppage of wages and all fines, for whatever cause, illegal; 12. Abolition of pauper labour in workhouses; 13. The control of all the means of production by the State; 14. A legal Eight Hours' Day for all trades; 15. The erection of municipal factories and workshops; 16. Public works to be carried out directly by public bodies and by workmen's associations.

It was at this Congress that the representatives of the cotton trade, Messrs. Birtwhistle and Mawdsley, declined to in any way countenance the eight hours movement, and threatened that the cotton trades would entirely withdraw from the Congress rather than be coerced into adopting the

eight hours day. The operatives of Lancashire had been the backbone of the Congress, and their severance from it would undoubtedly have led to its collapse. Subsequent events, however, have clearly shown that all this talk on the part of the leaders of the cotton operatives was mere bluster; for they have since rushed headlong into the eight hours movement themselves, and have been even more zealous in it than those whom they formerly denounced. To those who know Lancashire operatives, and understand what the conditions of their labour really are, this *volte face* on their part and on the part of their representatives will perhaps be the most convincing proof yet mentioned of the degeneration of Trade Unionism into Socialism. Any man who knew Lancashire twenty-five years ago would have unhesitatingly declared such a change to be impossible.

At the close of this Congress, the old Trade Unionists took very gloomy views of the future, whilst the New Unionists were full of hope. The action of the representatives of the cotton industry was still uncertain, and Mr. John Wilson, M.P., expressed his fear that both Mr. Birtwhistle and Mr. Mawdsley would persist in their resignation, and that they would be followed by others, to the weakening of the Congress. He did not think that there would be a permanent split, however, but that those who left would return next year. Mr. Fenwick, the secretary, was greatly discouraged by the secession of old and tried men just as he was taking office. Tom Mann expressed his opinion that the two factions would either coalesce before long, or that the New Unionism would gain such strength during the next year that it would swallow up the old. John Burns said that the House of Lords of labour was done with, and that "henceforth the Congress would cease to be chiefly a place for men that aspired to get factory inspectorships or magistracies from the powers that be. We have dealt the death blow to the caucusers and wire pullers." He also exulted in the victories which the New Unionists had already gained, and stated that the Socialistic

character of the Congress surprised even them. Mr. R. Austin, secretary of the Engineers' Society, said he hoped there would never be another Congress like this, the disturbances at which had been chiefly due to the young Unionists. Mr. Thomas Burt said that he did not recognise any real or vital antagonism between the new and old Unionists, and in fact he preferred not to use the words new and old. He thought both sides to blame for the disorder which had occurred.

The Trade Union Congress of 1891 was held at Newcastle, under the presidency of Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P. The Dockers' Union had previously given notice of the intention of its delegates to propose resolutions in favour of establishing a State Board of Arbitration in connection with the Labour Department; to instruct the Parliamentary Committee to prepare a Bill making it an offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any employer or agent to contract with workers outside the United Kingdom to perform work inside the United Kingdom, or to import foreign workmen into the United Kingdom to replace workmen who were on strike; expressing the opinion of the Congress that power should be at once granted to each municipality or county council to establish workshops and factories under municipal control; calling for the establishment of an eight hours working day, or forty-eight hours week, by Trade Union effort, supplemented by legislative enactment; instructing the executive to at once take steps to organize the agricultural labourers who were not yet members of Trade Unions, and asking all Unions to subscribe the funds necessary to begin the work; and that the powers of the Parliamentary Committee should be extended so as to admit of the formation of a National Trade Union Executive, having allied with it a Parliamentary Organising Committee, a General Purposes Committee, and other committees. From this it will be seen that the New Unionists had learned nothing from their experience at the previous Congress, when they were able to induce the delegates to pass a

multitude of resolutions involving the most revolutionary changes, which resolutions the Congress Committee had done nothing whatever to carry out.

At a preliminary meeting of the Joint Arrangements Committee a heated discussion took place with regard to the toast list at the banquet. The Socialistic element objected to the toast of "The Queen," and in order to conciliate them it was decided to make the toast "Our Queen and Country."

The New Unionists held sectional meetings to agree upon their policy at the Congress and organise their forces for the contest, John Burns being especially active in this direction.

Mr. Thomas Burt, in his opening address, stated that "the great question with which Adam Smith dealt was the wealth of nations; the question they had to deal with was the poverty of individuals and its causes! They had to solve the problem of a better distribution of wealth. . . . Millionaires and paupers were both monsters. If we ever became a Christian and civilized nation they would both disappear." He said that this Congress formed the largest Trade Union gathering which had ever met within the civilized world, and that the unskilled labourers were represented as they never were before. "All honour to the men who had organized these masses. He for one approved of their course, because as the very first step of civilization they must have organization. He was glad too that the women of this country were largely represented. Women needed organization even more than men, and whenever a woman did the same work in quality and quantity as the men she ought to ask for the same pay. And they ought to support her, not only on grounds of justice and humanity, but on grounds of self-defence. Labour ought to be recognized as a whole; they did not want any classes or castes. . . . It used to be thought that wages must be regulated by supply and demand; but they had convinced the political economists. Demand and supply was a factor, and it would be at their peril that they overlooked that.

They had taught them that men were something more than bales of cotton or tons of coals or hogsheads of sugar,—that they had convictions, souls, and wills, that they were men and must be treated as men.” He also expressed the opinion that strikes in future would be on a larger scale than they had been in the past, and that “workmen would refuse to deal with blacklegs directly or indirectly.”*

On the next day of the Congress a resolution in favour of “an international reduction in the hours of labour to eight hours a day,” and demanding the convocation of an International Conference by the Government to consider the question, was carried by 302 votes against 136 votes, although the representatives of the North strenuously opposed it. This was another decisive victory for the New Unionists, who also gained a triumph in regard to the system of voting to be followed at the Congress. Under the old system, or “card system” as it was called, taxation and representation went together, each delegate being entitled to one vote for every thousand of his constituents who had contributed £1 to the Funds of the Congress, the Unions who sent delegates to the Congress being thus obliged to prove their sincerity by putting their hands in their pockets.

* It will be seen that much in this address was quite in the tone of the New Unionism. A good deal of it might have been uttered by Tom Mann or John Burns, as, *e.g.*, when “wounding the capitalist either in his pocket or in his stomach, his two most vulnerable points,” was referred to; when it was asserted that the State had “accomplished much for them, and they believed it would do much more in the future;” when it was demanded that “the fetters should be struck off the land” and that “the utmost in the shape of health, recreation, and life should be got out of the land for the sustenance and well-being of the population;” and that the “poor man’s child should have a fair chance in the race of life.” Of course there are no fetters on the land, and Mr. Burt is himself a proof that in this country a poor man has not only a fair chance, but in some respects a better chance, than even the rich man.

The New Unionists objected to this system on the ground that it favoured the older and wealthier Unions, and they demanded a return to the alternative system of voting by show of hands. They carried their point.

Much of the time of the Congress was spent in discussing and carrying resolutions in favour of paid Members of Parliament; an amendment of the system of trial by jury; the abolition of the evils of sweating; demanding that no contracts should be given by public authority to any firm that did not conform to the customs and pay the rate of wages prescribed by Trade Unions. In all these debates the more ignorant and violent and noisy section of the delegates carried the day.

Perhaps the chief lesson suggested by the Congress was that the Trade Unionists of the country have very little faith in themselves, or in those whom they represent, as their one demand, iterated and reiterated in various forms, was that everything should be done for the working men by Parliament. The Socialist members of the Congress, such as John Burns, Keir Hardie, and Ben Tillett, expressed themselves as delighted with its result. There was also a disposition on the part of this section to ridicule Mr. Burt as an old fogey. A correspondent of *The Times*, who was evidently a member of the Congress, wrote of it in these terms:—"Even from a Trade Union point of view, the Congress which concluded at Newcastle on Saturday was far from being a striking success. The only section that can claim any advantage from the proceedings is the less stable group that represents Socialism and the New Unionism, and whose central idea is to have the hours of labour reduced by Parliament, without cost or effort to the workman, whose wages apparently are to rise as his hours are reduced. The legal enactment party secured such victories as were obtained by anybody at the Congress, but the absence of even the semblance of argument, the irregularity of the sessions, the mutual suspicions and jealousies that existed, and the wavering and undecisive character of

the voting, deprived these victories of any great significance. Many spectators who were anxious to feel in sympathy with the delegates and the cause which they were supposed to represent have been bitterly disappointed. It was a singular Labour Congress, too, at which the president was strongly opposed to the ideas prevailing on the part of the majority, and from whose debates most of the recognized leaders of Trade Unions were conspicuous by an absence that may have been intentional."

This correspondent also expressed the opinion that a serious split would occur between the New Unionists and the old in the course of two or three years, and stated that great disappointment was felt among the working men of the North that the Congress should have been of such a discreditable character, and that its results should have been practically *nil*.

It is not without significance that the National Liberal Federation met shortly after the Trade Union Congress in the same town of Newcastle, and that it was at this meeting that the "Newcastle Programme" was formulated. Obviously the Liberal politicians had been very closely watching the action of the Trade Unionists, and had resolved to incorporate as much of their programme as possible into the authorised formularies of the Liberal Party. Another suggestive fact is that the Congress greatly strengthened the hostility which is felt towards Mr. John Morley, who sits for Newcastle, by the Socialistic Trade Unionists, and gave to the movement against him a great stimulus. Nor have these events been without their influence upon Mr. Morley, who has already so far departed from his former rigid attitude as to vote for the Miners' Eight Hours Bill. Probably he will by and bye recant his opinions on the Labour Question as he recanted them on the Home Rule Question, and will be found voting for the entire programme of the Socialistic Trade Unionists.

The Trade Union Congress of 1892 met in Glasgow, under the presidency of Mr. John Hodge, chairman of the

Glasgow Trades' Council, the character of whose address may be judged from his statement that many people found life a grievous and intolerable burden, whilst others found it difficult to live at all, and that this was "directly traceable to the old Feudal system." There was not a word in the address from beginning to end about measures for promoting the welfare of the country generally. (That is a characteristic of all these addresses.) The one idea was that everything should be done for the advancement of a particular class, viz., the working class, or rather that small section of the working class embraced by Trade Unionism.

Mr. S. Woods, M.P., proposed at this Congress a resolution of censure upon Mr. Fenwick, the secretary of the Congress, because that gentleman had in the House of Commons voted and spoken against the Miners' Eight Hours Bill; but by a majority of 186 the resolution was rejected.

Resolutions of the usual character were proposed and carried, demanding all sorts of benefits for Trade Unionists at the expense of other people. There was, however, one resolution of a somewhat novel character, viz., one demanding that a Bill should be introduced for the "purpose of preventing foreign labour being imported into this country for the purpose of supplying the places of strikers during lockouts or any other trade disturbance." This was, as we have seen, one of the demands of the dockers' Union. Mr. S. Woods, M.P., in seconding this motion, stated that a strike had been going on for six months at Accrington, where the men were fighting in a most just battle, and he deeply regretted that men should be imported from Scotland to take the place of the strikers. So that in the opinion of New Unionists Scotchmen are foreigners, and are not to be allowed to take work in England which Englishmen refuse to do! However, a Scotchman, Mr. Ross, of Edinburgh, was of opinion that the resolution did not go far enough, and he proposed an amendment to the effect that not only

should the importation of foreign labour be prevented during strikes, but the importation of foreign manufactured goods also (and, of course, on their principles oatmeal from Scotland would be "foreign" goods), and this was seconded by Mr. William Small, another Scotchman, and a miner's agent. But these resolutions proved a little too much for the Congress, and they were shelved by the carrying of the previous question. They give some idea, however, of the lengths to which the New Unionists are prepared to go in their policy of Labour Protection. On the same day a resolution was carried stating that no one should be eligible for the post of factory inspector unless he had worked for five years in a factory of the same class as those which he would have to inspect. We can imagine what friction would be caused between employers and inspectors of this description. The Congress further demanded that working men should sit on juries at a fee of ten shillings per day. So that the Trade Union idea is that on the one hand employers should be made liable for all accidents which occur in their establishments whether they are caused by their own fault or not, and that on the other hand the juries who inquire into these accidents are to consist largely of men who are hostile to the employers, and who, of course, under a law abolishing the limitation of the amount payable to workmen for injuries, would feel it to be their duty to punish the employer as much as possible. On the question of Labour representation some very significant things occurred at this Glasgow Congress. The Parliamentary Committee was instructed to prepare a scheme for "Independent" Labour representation, and thus the Congress was committed to the most extreme view of working class representation advocated by the Socialistic Labour agitators. Another resolution demanded that the period qualifying for a vote should be reduced to three months, and that officers should be appointed who would be responsible for the placing of qualified persons on the register. In its original form this resolution proposed the abolition of all disqualification on

account of receiving parochial relief, as well as of all financial limitations upon the lodge franchise. The aim evidently is to secure a large addition to the lodgers' and small occupiers' votes, or in other words to bring about a great increase of working class voting power. The new voters thus enfranchised are to be organised upon Socialistic lines, independently of existing political parties. A third resolution called upon the Trade Unions to put pressure upon candidates in order to obtain payment of members, and to make election expenses a charge upon the public funds. In these ways the Socialistic Trade Unions are trying to construct an electoral machine to carry out their purposes in Parliament.

Another feature of the Glasgow Congress was the complete conversion of the representatives of the cotton industry on the Eight Hours question. Mr. Mawdsley himself actually moved: "That this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when the workers in any trade or occupation in which a majority of the organized workers, except miners, desire to have an eight hours working day, or forty-eight hours per week, should have the same secured to them by legal enactment and hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to introduce and push forward in Parliament a Bill to that effect." It would appear that the Lancashire operatives upon this question were ahead of their leaders, and that they did not approve of the action of those leaders in withdrawing from the previous Congress as a protest against the Eight Hours day being forced upon them. At any rate, in various cotton spinning centres where a poll had been taken upon the question, there was a considerable majority in favour of the Eight Hours day. In this case there was no pretence whatever that an Eight Hours day was demanded on grounds of health; it was openly stated by the advocates of the measure that they looked upon it as a means of getting rid of over-production; in other words Parliament is to compel every mill to work short time, and thus regulate the price of cotton goods by

preventing too large a quantity of those goods being made, and all this for the benefit of the operatives, and at the expense of the employers and the country generally. Such action on the part of the reputedly hard-headed operatives of Lancashire may well make us despair as to the future of our industries. However, these people are at least honest, so that we know how to deal with them. If the miners were as candid they would confess that they too demanded an Eight Hours day as a means of restricting the output of coal, and thus raising its price.

The Trade Union Congress of last year, 1893, was held at Belfast, under the presidency of Mr. Samuel Monro, president of the Belfast United Trades Council. As usual with men of his class, Mr. Monro had a fling at what he called the "exploded doctrine of political economy," and jeered at the "Dry-as-dust philosophers" who, "applied to labour the same cast iron rules as they applied to commodities," and who assumed without question that "because free and unrestrained competition was legitimate "when applied to commodities, it was equally legitimate "when extended to the case of women and children." He congratulated the Congress upon the fact that public opinion was now so advanced that it was unnecessary to discuss the feasibility of State intervention in matters affecting the welfare of the industrial classes. He admitted that all such interference was a direct interference with the liberty of the subject, and that every unnecessary limitation of personal liberty was an evil; but he held that experience taught that the safety of workmen could not be left to the sole guardianship of the workmen themselves. He summarized the change of attitude which had taken place in the legislature towards labour in these terms: "For many long years it refused its interference to protect labour against capital, while it imposed upon labour the most tyrannical restrictions with the object of protecting capital against labour. Alarmed at the ruinous results of such a policy, it adopted, in obedience to mistaken economic theories, a

course less iniquitous, perhaps, but yet far from being just or righteous—viz., that of refusing to interfere at all, allowing employers and workmen to fight their battle to a finish on the principle of the survival of the fittest. Then came the inevitable reaction, and at the present time the desire to deal justly with labour interests is recognized as the fundamental principle of legislation; and no party dare appeal to the country without admitting the necessity for mitigating the hardships of labour and for protecting the toiling millions who cannot protect themselves.”

At this Congress Mr. Ben Tillett moved a series of resolutions on the question of Labour representation, which we here quote in full, and it is significant that Mr. John Wilson, M.P., a Trade Unionist of the old school, seconded Mr. Tillett. The resolutions were as follows:—“ 1. That a separate fund be established for the purpose of assisting independent labour candidates in local and Parliamentary elections, contributions to such fund to be optional. 2. Each society desiring to affiliate with the movement shall subscribe annually to the election fund the sum of 5s. per 100 members. 3. The administration of the aforesaid fund to be intrusted to a committee of 13 persons (including secretary and treasurer), who shall be elected annually at the Congress by and from the delegates representing the contributing societies. The committee should present annually to the contributing societies a statement of money received and expended by them during the year. Selection of candidates.—The selection of candidates in every case to rest with the localities in the first instance. If at any time, however, it should be impossible to secure a suitable local candidate, a candidate may then be selected by the locality from a list of persons approved by the committee. All candidates receiving financial assistance must pledge themselves to support the labour programme as agreed upon from time to time by the Congress.” These resolutions were carried. Mr. James Macdonald proposed the following amendment: “Section 2. Candidates receiving financial assistance must

“pledge themselves to support the principle of collective ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution and the labour programme as agreed upon from time to time by the Congress.” This amendment was adopted by 137 votes against 97, and the resolution as amended was carried by 150 votes against 52. Mr. John Burns, in supporting the amendment, said “the amendment cut to the kernel of the social and labour problem; it stripped off the bark of party politics. He believed the time had come when the principles affirmed in the amendment should be put into operation, but it was badly drawn. Till the Independent Labour party were put out of existence there was nothing between Trade Unionism on the one side and Trade Unionism *plus* a Socialist Labour party on the other. These parties were at present separate, but if they were blended together they would be invincible.”

Here the New Unionists gained another triumph. The Trade Union Congress has decided that no Labour candidate shall be supported unless he swallows the whole of the Socialistic programme.

Among the resolutions carried at this Congress were the following:—

1. Moved by Mr. Ben Tillett: “That the Parliamentary Committee promote a Bill regulating the hours of labour to eight per day, or 48 per week in all trades and occupations, which Bill shall contain a clause enabling the organized members of any trade or occupation protesting by ballot against the same to exempt such trade or occupation from its provisions.”

This resolution was evidently designed to force workmen into Trade Unions; for, be it observed, there is to be no exemption from the provisions of the Eight Hours Bill unless a protest is made against it by “organized members” of a trade, so that if a factory town contained 20,000 workers, and only 20 of them were members of a Trade Union, the decision of the question would rest with these 20, and the other 19,980 would have no voice in the matter at all because

they were not "organized members." This resolution was carried by 197 votes to 18.

2. Mr. Crompton (Birkenhead) moved:—"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived when there should be amalgamation of all kindred trades in the one society for the greater strengthening of Trade Unionism and for the simplification of organizing during or prior to a dispute, and we call upon all societies of the same trade to forward this movement by themselves submerging their differences and joining together for the good of the labour cause, and that, with the view of giving practical effect to the resolution, the Parliamentary Committee be requested to endeavour to arrange a conference or conferences between the societies affiliated in each trade." The motion was carried by 99 votes to four.

3. "That this Congress is of opinion that whenever practicable trade unionists should decline to work side by side with non-unionists, and that the Parliamentary Committee be, and are hereby instructed to include this recommendation in a circular to be issued to the trades represented at this Congress."

4. Mr. P. Curran (London) proposed the following resolution:—"That this Congress, representing the organized workmen of the United Kingdom, do hereby instruct the Parliamentary Committee to at its earliest convenience draw up a basis of common agreement for the purpose of bringing all trade and labour organizations into closer relationship on the lines of the American Labour Federation, so that united action may be taken when an industrial crisis arises." This resolution was carried.

The object of this last resolution is quite clear, and has more than once been referred to in the course of this work. The aim of Trade Unionism is to so organize and federate all the trades in the country as to enable them to bring about a general and universal strike on any pretext. That such resolutions could be carried, along with scores of others equally absurd, will give some idea of the measure of

the capacity of the Trade Union Congress. If there is one thing which Trade Unionists are more deficient in than another it is statesmanship.

Mr. John Burns addressing an audience at Battersea, on the Belfast Trade Union Congress, on September 23, 1893, said that all Sections of the Congress had practically come to the conclusion that the day of strikes was over, and that that method of settling disputes "was all very well when labour was organized and capital was not, but to-day the conditions were very different from those met with a few years ago." He added: "The resolution adopted by the Congress in favour of the collective ownership of the means of production practically terminated the fight between the old Unionists and the Socialists. They had captured the Congress, and he asked what were they going to do with it. They must not think that meant the capturing of Parliament and the local bodies of the country; and he said the time for consolidation, reorganization, and reconstruction had arrived. Side by side with the abolition of political and economic shibboleths, they must show their capacity to organize from the branch upwards, or their victory at the Belfast Congress would be worth little to them. . . . All schemes for the relief of the unemployed which presupposed the creation of more work ought to be ignored by all workmen who sought relief. Instead of that, they ought to find out some means by which they could do their present work better in point of quality by spreading it over a larger number of men. . . . His remedies were the abolition of overtime, an Eight Hours Day, the abolition of the contractor, and raising the age at which children were allowed to go to work."

Since the foregoing was written the Trade Union Congress of 1894 has been held at Norwich, and reports of its proceedings reached us just as these sheets were passing through the press. Those proceedings were of the usual character, and do not therefore call for any lengthened notice. In general it may be stated that they proved that the drift of

Trade Unionism towards Socialism had been accelerated during the year, and that the resolutions passed were more pronouncedly Socialistic than ever. One resolution, moved by Mr. J. Mawdsley, of Manchester, was to this effect: "Recognising that the ultimate well-being of the workers depends on their being able to retain *all they produce*, this Congress recommends all workers to do their utmost to make both the trade union and the co-operative movement more successful, believing that they are both conducing to the same end." This was unanimously carried, with this addition—"and this Congress strongly condemns any co-operative society that trades with non-Union blackleg firms, and further, that every co-operative society should employ none but Trade Unionists."

Another resolution, which was carried by 256 votes against 5, was in favour of a general Eight Hours Day, and was in these terms: "That the Parliamentary Committee be urged to introduce a Bill into the House of Commons fixing the hours of work in bakehouses, and in all other trades and occupations, at eight per day or forty-eight per week." This was carried amid "vehement cheering."

Mr. Terence A. Flynn (significant name) moved, and Mr. J. H. Wilson, M.P., seconded, a resolution declaring "that it should be a penal offence for any employer to bring or cause to be brought to any locality extra labour where the already existing supply is sufficient for the needs of the district." This ridiculous proposal was, incredible as it may seem, accepted and passed by a Congress which claims to be the perfect embodiment of economic wisdom and to represent the flower of our working men. The object of this proposal is of course to enable men to strike on any pretext or for any terms with the certainty that they will win, since all business will be at a standstill, and any attempt on the part of the employers to introduce outsiders to do the work would be put down by the strong hand of the law. This crazy demand may perhaps open the eyes

of certain amiable but dull-witted people to what Trade Unionism really is and what it is aiming at.

Finally, the Congress recorded its opinion that "it is essential to the maintenance of British industries to nationalise the land, and the whole of the means of production, distribution, and exchange"—the entire Socialistic programme swallowed at one gulp.

In supporting the resolution, Mr. John Burns said that "thrift was invented by capitalist rogues to deprive honest fools of their diet and proper standard of comfort, so that their balance at the Bank would be in proportion to the capacity of the workers to allow themselves to be deprived of their share of national wealth." Mr. F. J. Delves, the President of the Congress, gave utterance to some remarkable sentiments, one of which was that: "The scandalous growth of our revenue is due to the Army and Navy, not to the Education Vote or the factory inspectors, or any of the things we have ever desired or profit by. The annual charge for keeping this sword of Damocles hanging over the head of our movement is £70,000,000." Of course the poor man meant expenditure when he said revenue, and he could not be expected to know that the Army and Navy cost together less than half the sum he names, or to realise that they are essential to the preservation of our national industries and even of our national existence. But what sort of a mind must a man have who describes the Army and Navy as "a sword of Damocles," which hangs in some mysterious manner over the head of Trade Unionism? Mr. Delves also said: "The only direction in which we can look for the ultimate solution of our industrial problems is that of Collectivism."

The other noteworthy feature of the Congress was the rejection of Mr. Fenwick, M.P., for the Secretaryship, and the election of Mr. S. Woods, M.P., in his place. Mr. Fenwick had given offence by voting in Parliament for the local option amendment in the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, and hence his defeat. He stood as the advocate of a legal

Eight Hours Day for miners in districts which wished for it ; Mr. Woods stood as the advocate of a legal Eight Hours Day for all miners whether they desired it or not. One was the supporter of freedom (of a partial and limited nature) ; the other was the supporter of compulsion out and out. The Coercionist won by 211 votes against 141 given for his opponent. Of course this was another significant victory for the Socialistic element in the Congress.

If faith in the wisdom, the justice, the moderation of Trade Unionism can survive the shock which it has received from the Norwich Congress, it will survive anything. Nothing more irrational, more preposterous, or more outrageous can ever be said or done than was said and done on that occasion. Those who can continue to believe in the worthiness and usefulness of Trade Unionism after the proofs which it has given of its real character and aims are past argument. Reason would be lost upon them ; they must be placed in the category of fanatics and enthusiasts. We are convinced, however, that the majority of the intelligent people of this country will henceforth estimate Trade Unionism at its true worth, and will refuse to recognize that it possesses any authority whatever. From this time forth the Trade Union Congress will be regarded as a discredited body, whose members are entitled to no respect, whose decisions carry no weight. It will be looked upon in the same light, and treated in the same manner, as the Social Democratic Federation ; that is, as a body of frenzied and violent men who are at war with society, and upon whom society must make war in self-defence. The deliberations and resolutions of this Congress ought in future to be treated with contempt. By treating them with respect and gravity Parliament can only degrade its dignity and sink itself to the level of this egregious Socialistic body.

Sir Peter Eade, Mayor of Norwich, and Mr. J. J. Colman and Mr. S. Hoare, Members of Parliament for the city, entertained the Trade Union delegates at receptions, garden parties, etc. Far be it from us to censure them for so doing.

They could hardly be expected to know that the members of the Congress would avow themselves enemies to the existing social order, and they were laudably anxious to act up to our good old English traditions as to hospitality. But if the Social Democrats held a Congress in Norwich, would these gentlemen treat them in the same way? If not, why not? Essentially there is no difference between the Trade Union delegates and the Social Democrats. Both are enemies of society; both intend to confiscate property; both are actuated by envy and malignity towards capitalists; both are deadly foes of freedom. Are these the kind of men whom English gentlemen, themselves employers and capitalists, should delight to honour? By entertaining such men these gentlemen convince many people, however erroneously, that they sympathise with their views and purposes. Of course it would be absurd to suppose that Messrs. Fade, Colman, and Hoare have any sympathy with the Collectivism, etc., advocated by this Congress; but why do they patronise the men who propound these views? Hospitality is all very well. But hospitality towards the enemies of society, hospitality practised at the expense of principle and honour, cannot be commended. Now that Trade Unionists have openly avowed themselves to be Socialists, advocates of tyranny and confiscation in their most odious forms, it behoves honest Englishmen to hold aloof from them and to wash their hands of all complicity in their sayings and doings, lest they be regarded as partakers of their evil deeds. Next year (1895) the Congress is to meet at Cardiff, a town which has suffered much from Trade Unionism, and we trust that neither Mayor, nor Member of Parliament, nor any other man of position and influence, will extend to its members fellowship or hospitality. They should be left severely alone.

It will be observed that the Socialistic Trade Unionists, not content with "capturing" the Congress, are now deliberately pursuing the policy of "capturing" Parliament

and the County Councils also, and that Trade Union agitation in the ordinary sense is to be subordinated to this end. This point was further developed by Mr. Burns at the Dockers' Congress at Bristol, on September 13, 1893, when he said: "Fortunately there was a means of escape from the hunger of the strike and the tyrannical usurpation of civil and political rights by capital. This was the conversion of the general public from the folly, waste, and anarchy of the present industrial system, which, based on private ownership, ended in private monopoly, finally resulting in a small class of rich men determining the social conditions of a nation. The workers could never win in a battle of this kind, with the Press, police, military, and magistracy on the side of property. What was worse than all these, the ignorance, apathy, and lack of combination of the workers prevented a victory by sheer strength. There was a remedy for all this—first let them apply to themselves the words 'contain ourselves with patience;' let them enrol men in the Unions and transfer the battle between capital and labour from the strike and the Union to every local and Imperial body."

On the same occasion Mr. B. Tillett advocated the calling of a "national congress of representatives from county councils, town councils, vestries, guardians, and highway boards, who could undertake to discuss these questions (in connection with the unemployed):—(1) The improvement in the sanitary condition of all localities by the clearing of all insanitary areas; (2) the erection of new and improved dwellings in place of dwellings demolished, the widening of streets, the relaying of roadways or the making of new roadways; (3) purification of all rivers, streams, and tide-ways; (4) construction of harbours of refuge; (5) the multiplication of bridges demanded by growing traffic; (6) the direct employment by the municipal authority of its own labour; (7) the drawing up of a Bill giving full borrowing authority to districts to undertake any local improvement or to provide remunerative work to the un-

employed, or in the cultivating of new industries, purchasing of docks, waterways, river frontage, waterworks, gasworks, and land."

This, then, is the new policy of the Socialistic Labour party. They intend to get representatives into Parliament, on County Councils and Parish Councils wherever possible; to squeeze all the money they can out of the odious capitalists in the shape of rates, and then to spend it on their own class. The Government is doing its best to help them, as we have seen, by passing such measures as the Parish Councils Bill, whereby weapons are placed in their hands which can be used with terrible effect against those double-dyed criminals—the owners of property. "Forewarned is forearmed." Let the propertied classes bestir themselves, and counteract the designs of their enemies, or they will awake some day to discover that the Socialists have quietly seized the machinery of government.

We have now reached a point at which we may profitably pause for a moment or two, recapitulate the substance of what has been said in relation to Trade Unionism, and reflect upon its import and its significance. The facts and arguments which have been advanced incontestably prove that Trade Unionism is in its spirit and practice a system which places a tyrannous yoke upon workmen and works injustice towards masters; that it creates, and feeds upon it when created, discontent among the employed and enmity against employers; that it always exceeds its legitimate function of protecting and promoting the interests of the workmen, and interferes with, and strives to secure the management and control of, the master's business; that its aim is to make itself the dominant power in our industry, and to so organise its forces as to be able to govern and control all industrial operations, both national and international, and to paralyse any given industry at will; that in the pursuit of these purposes it uses intimidation against workmen, and the boycott against masters, thus robbing both classes of their primary rights and liberties; that it

fosters idleness and discourages emulation among workmen, thus operating in restraint of trade, whilst the agitators whom it produces create a feeling of insecurity, which spreads through the community, insensibly but effectually driving away capital, discouraging enterprise and diminishing employment; and that, finally, it is to all intents and purposes a wing of the Socialistic party, the more dangerous because, its Socialism being to a great extent latent and unavowed, it is a wolf in sheep's clothing.

This is our indictment against Trade Unionism, and we claim to have made it good. In drawing it up we have not been actuated by any motive of hostility towards Trade Unionism as such, and still less by any ill-will towards the working classes; on the contrary, it is because we desire to promote the true and the permanent interests of those classes that we denounce a system which is curtailing and even destroying their liberties, and which is strangling the industries from which they derive their support. Moreover, we fully recognise that there is a legitimate sphere for Trade Unions, viz., to act as agencies for educating the working classes in regard to their occupations and also for making provision for sickness and death, as well as for promoting sanitary conditions of labour, and that if they would confine themselves to that sphere they would do almost unmixed good. Experience proves, however, that they are not content to perform these humble but useful functions.

Now, we fearlessly ask any reasonable man who loves justice and freedom and fair dealing on what rational or moral grounds we are bound to support such a system as this; nay, we challenge any such man to bring forth one strong and sound reason why such a system ought to be upheld by men who are governed by moral, and especially by Christian, principles. We are persuaded that no such reason can be adduced. The moral laws of God will have to be repealed, and the conscience of man re-constituted on a new basis, before tyranny and injustice can be proved to be right. Mere politicians, self-servers and time-servers,

may trample the moral law underfoot and take base expediency as their law and their guide ; but men who are actuated by the lofty and austere principles of true morality, who act "ever as in the great Taskmaster's eye," cannot thus sacrifice the higher to the lower. One of the marvels in connection with this subject is that Christian men, and even Christian teachers, can support and advocate a system which is destructive of individual liberty, antagonistic to the development of the best qualities of the individual, and inimical to the wider interests of the community at large. Trade Unionism is without either economic or moral justification.

Having described the character of Trade Unionism in its latest, and we must add, its most degenerate form, as modified and debased by Socialism, we will now show Socialistic Trade Unionism at work, as a concrete example of its action will do more to show what it really is and what it really means than volumes of description. We will take the railway strike which recently occurred in America as our example.

First, however, it may be well to premise that the conditions which prevail in the United States are somewhat different from those which prevail among ourselves. Labour organisations there are much more extreme in their aims and their methods than they have usually been in this country ; in fact what is here called the New Unionism may be regarded as the normal type of Trade Unionism in the United States. For years past outrages of the most diabolical character have there occurred in connection with trade disputes. On both sides the feeling has been bitter to a degree that is almost inconceivable to us, even now that the New Unionism has given us a taste of its quality ; and as a natural result labour wars in that country have been literally wars, in which no quarter has been given on either side. The great difference in favour of America until quite recently was that the Executive authorities in that country generally acted with great decision and promptitude

in cases where the public peace was broken or where attacks were made upon property. When the writer of this work was in the United States he made a somewhat careful enquiry into industrial matters, and as a result he ventured to predict in some of the Reviews that things would go from bad to worse, and that industrial conflicts more extensive and more fierce than any that had hitherto occurred would break out before long. Events have proved the truth of this forecast in a most signal manner. One thing, however, the writer did not foresee, and that is the abnormal and alarming advance which the Socialistic movement has made in the United States during the last five years. The rapid spread of Socialistic and Anarchical principles in that country during recent years has rendered the situation dangerous to a degree that is little understood in Europe. Americans rather prided themselves upon the fact that their soil was a very sterile one so far as Socialism was concerned ; that however sedulously the evil seed might be sown it would never germinate, much less produce a harvest. Under the influence of this foolish optimism, they, like ourselves, gave full licence to the Socialistic propaganda, and of course the inevitable result has followed. They have sown the wind ; they are now reaping the whirlwind. Recent events have effectually disillusioned the American people, and they are now fully alive to the peril which threatens them through Socialism and Anarchy. Evidence of this is afforded by the efforts which they are making to prevent revolutionaries from being landed upon their shores.

We now come to the American Railway Strike. This strike, like many others which have ultimately assumed large dimensions, began in a very small way. The germ of it was a dispute which occurred between the Pullman Company and its workmen. This Company employs about 6,300 operatives, and its business is the manufacture and the working of the well-known Pullman railway cars. The average wages paid by the Company were 10s. a day, this

average including women and boys. The deposits in the Pullman savings bank when the strike commenced amounted to £126,000, whilst about 1,000 of the workmen owned their own houses—a fact which one must have been in America to be able to appreciate. For the convenience of its workmen the Company had erected a model town, called Pullman city, where advantages and facilities of various kinds were placed within the reach of the workpeople if they chose to make use of them. It is quite evident from all the facts that the Pullman *employees* were about as well treated as it was possible for them to be.

Trade, as is well known, has for two or three years been in a very depressed state in America, and as a result of this the railways greatly suffered. The Pullman Company were compelled to reduce the price of their goods until the cost of constructing the carriages exceeded the price that could be obtained for them. They offered to allow their books to be inspected in order that this statement might be verified. Under these circumstances, two alternatives were open to them; they might close their establishments and turn the workpeople adrift, or they might keep the works going and reduce the wages of the *employees*. Which was the best course to pursue, having regard to the interests of the workpeople? Clearly to keep the works going at reduced wages. Accordingly, the wages were reduced. This, it is said in some quarters, would have been quietly submitted to if the Company had at the same time reduced the rents of the houses occupied by many of the workpeople. Why they should reduce their rents, seeing that they were no higher than those in other places, is not apparent; and it is obvious that it would have been a mere piece of folly to reduce the workpeople's wages in order to reduce the cost of production, and then to reduce their rents, and so bring the cost of production up to its old level. However, some busybodies magnified this into a grievance, and a committee was appointed to remonstrate with the Company. The next day two or three of the committee were discharged, ostensibly

“on account of slack work,” but it was assumed that they had been discharged on account of the action which they had taken in regard to the reduction of rents, which may indeed have been the case. Even supposing that it was the case, the Pullman Company had a perfect right to get rid of people who were causing discord in their works, although it may be admitted that it was injudicious to discharge even obnoxious men at so critical a juncture. When these two men were paid off, the committee instantly ordered every man to cease work, and the order was obeyed, although, as is usual in these cases, “the majority did not want to strike.”

Mr. George M. Pullman is a somewhat remarkable man. Formerly a workman himself, he has succeeded in building up one of the most remarkable and successful businesses in the world. He may be taken to understand the working man pretty well. Like Sir W. T. Lewis, Mr. George Livesey, and the late Mr. John Walker, he is a man who cannot be intimidated; he knows his own mind, and he is not afraid to act upon his own convictions. He declined all arbitration in regard to this dispute, taking the common-sense view that the question whether his works should be run at a loss or not was not a question to be arbitrated upon, and that he could manage his business better than outsiders could manage it for him. He said:—“There is no solution practicable unless those who wish to be employed at the Pullman shops realize and act on the rule of business that the aggregate cost of a piece of work must not exceed its selling price. Continuous violation of that rule must wreck the Pullman shops or any other shop, and permanently all work of its *employes*. This company cannot control the selling price of cars, and cannot pay more for making them than it can contract to sell them for. It is impossible to submit to arbitration.” To this position he pertinaciously adhered in spite of both wheedling and abuse. It may be stated, however, that Mr. Pullman, before making any attempt to reduce wages, had taken a contract to manufacture cars at a loss, that is to say, rather than

discharge his workpeople, he would undertake for a time to pay part of their wages out of his own pocket ; but of course that could not go on for ever, and as the market did not improve there was no alternative but to either close the works or reduce the cost of production.

Undoubtedly the dispute between Mr. Pullman and his workmen would have been settled in the course of a few days had they been left to themselves ; but, as we have seen, the policy of Trade Unionism is to seize upon every local dispute that may occur, magnify it, and if possible make it the foundation of a general strike. These were precisely the tactics followed in this case. An agitator of the kind so well known among ourselves, appeared upon the scene, in the person of Mr. E. V. Debs, the president of the Trade Union of the railway workmen. This autocrat issued an edict to the effect that every railway company using Pullman cars should be boycotted, and afterwards the order was extended to every railway represented in the General Managers' Association, whether they used Pullman cars or not. This involved twenty-two railways at Chicago alone, and altogether thirty-two of the most extensive railways in the States were attacked, the area of the strike embracing two-thirds of the United States. The railway managers of course resisted the attack made upon them ; they had contracts with the Pullman Company, and they wished to carry them out honourably. When they took this stand the Trade Union leaders, the railway workmen co-operating with them, deliberately determined to cripple the railways, and of course paralyze business in general. Consequently the boycott was enforced with the utmost rigour, and the results were loss of life, destruction of property, almost a total stoppage of general business, and such interference with a suspension of the ordinary functions of society as to necessitate the intervention of the President, who practically proclaimed Martial Law over a large part of the country, and sent troops not only to preserve order but to assist in the working of the railway traffic.

The course of the strike was marked by outrages of the most diabolical character; trains were thrown off the lines by obstacles which had been deliberately placed upon them, drivers, stokers, and passengers being killed; people were stoned to death; dynamite bombs were employed; trains were wrecked; property of all kinds was looted and fired; in short a state of civil war and anarchy prevailed in Chicago and many other States.

Debs was backed up by another agitator, who calls himself the Master Workman of the Knights of Labour. This individual ordered a general strike from Chicago to San Francisco, with the view of paralysing every kind of labour in the United States. By this time, however, the authorities had recovered their heads; troops of Federal soldiers were on the scene, and Gatling and Hotchkiss guns were placed in the streets of Chicago ready for action; and President Cleveland had made it clear that he would stand no nonsense. The consequence was that Grand Master Workman Sovereign, as he called himself (his real name is said to be Muldoon), found himself shorn of his power. Consequently, the general strike did not come off. The decisive action of the President soon produced its effect, and the strike movement at once showed signs of collapse. Within a few days the railways were again at work, and the deluded workmen were applying for their old places, thousands of them only to find that those places had been filled. The Pullman *employes* were also asking to be taken back upon almost any terms. The loss caused to the railways during this strike was £300,000, in addition to which their property was damaged to the extent of £400,000 by fires, "a feature of the strike." The workmen, it is estimated, lost in ten days £272,000. This of course is simply the direct and immediate cost, which is measurable; but who can estimate the value of what has been lost in other ways—in the staggering blow which has been given to capital; in the shaking of public confidence; in the revelation of a new and terrible danger to society;

in the death of scores of men, and in the misery and starvation of thousands more, with their wives and families?

It was well for the United States that their Constitution gave so much absolute power to the President, who was able to act decisively, and promptly, without consulting any Parliament or Cabinet, and thus to put his hand upon the throat of disorder at once. The courageous action of President Cleveland saved the United States from civil war, the results of which would have been terrible in the extreme, although in the end it would no doubt have given the country peace for some years to come from such dastards and scoundrels as those who promoted this strike. What we should do in this country if we had to confront a similar danger it is alarming to contemplate. We have no man here who has power to do as President Cleveland did; not even the Queen herself could do it, much less the Prime Minister. If London were placed at the mercy of the Anarchical elements which exist among us, as the result of a great strike, the city might be well-nigh sacked before anybody could really cope with the danger.

A more wanton strike than this one at Chicago, or one marked by more deliberate and diabolical outrages against life and property, has never disgraced the annals of Trade Unionism; and it forcibly illustrates the nature of the perils which we have repeatedly emphasized in the course of this work. Let us, therefore, examine it a little more in detail, with a view of learning what it suggests as to the disposition and designs of Trade Unionism, and also what lessons it is calculated to teach us in this country.

In the first place, what are we to think of the conduct of these Trade Union leaders from a common sense point of view? Was their conduct that of rational men? Or was it not rather the conduct of men apparently under the spell of some infatuation or hallucination? They intervened in a quarrel with which they had no concern whatever, and which but for them would have been quietly settled and unheard of by the world, and they did this in order that

they might make some plausible occasion for an attack upon capitalists in general. Not only was their conduct irrational to the point of insanity, but it also indicated a spirit of implacable malignity towards employers and capitalists. It is obvious that men who would act as these men acted would do things a thousand-fold worse if they dare ; indeed the fiendish actions of the men who murder rulers and officials and slay innocent people in a wholesale fashion by exploding dynamite bombs are but manifestations of the same spirit as was exhibited by these American Trade Unionists, but they carry it a little further towards its logical result. The blind recklessness of these agitators is one of the most marvellous phenomena of the day ; there is only one thing more marvellous, and that is that multitudes of working men who are remarkably well off should be willing to follow such blind guides to destruction. Such men as Debs must have known very well what they were doing ; that if they called a strike at this particular juncture, when Chicago was full of unemployed men who had been left stranded by the World's Fair Exhibition, the ranks of the strikers would be swelled by these idlers and also by the disorderly anarchic elements which abound in that city ; that if the railways were paralysed, and food supplies stopped, the working classes would be the first and the last to suffer from a famine ; that to burn and loot property and prevent men from following their occupations would not improve trade, or enable employers to pay better wages, or provide more work for the workers ; and, as a consequence of all this, they must have known that when matters came to a crisis the strong hand of the law would strike swiftly and decisively, vindicating the rights of both capital and labour, and exacting stern retribution from the ruffians who had striven to undermine the foundations of society. It would be too charitable a view to assume that Debs and his coadjutors were acting in a merely foolish and inconsiderate way. Their conduct was wicked and wanton ; it was the result of a deliberate calculation that if they only went to

extremes, capitalists and the community in general would be terror stricken; and would rush to make terms with their enemies; and it must be admitted that they had good grounds for this calculation, as civilized Governments have of late shown great readiness of disposition to make concessions to the lawless at the expense of the law-abiding. In this instance, however, the vaulting ambition of the "Labour" agitators over-reached itself, and the American Government discovered that they would either have to make a stand against the tyranny of organized labour or to give up the Government into the hands of two or three industrial dictators. Hence the vigorous action of President Cleveland, and the signal and ignominious defeat of Debs and his partners in this social crime.

The sequel is a sad one, so far as the Pullman *employes* are concerned, though no doubt the United States generally will be the better for the experience which they have passed through. On August 22, 1894, Mr. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois—a miserable creature, whose only distinction is that he is a sympathiser with Socialists and Anarchists, who by some freak of the electors was pitch-forked into the Governorship, and who did his utmost to encourage the strike, even remonstrating against Federal troops being sent into Illinois to restore order—issued a proclamation to the people of the State, asking them to contribute to the relief of the strikers in the town of Pullman, to which he had recently paid a visit. He stated that there were over one thousand families, or six thousand persons, of whom four-fifths were women and children, who were utterly destitute, and that nearly all the former *employes* of the Pullman company living in the town had been supported by charity for three months, but that the relief society was unable to get further supplies. Mr. Altgeld had previously written to Mr. Pullman himself, saying: "It seems to me that your Company cannot afford to have me appealing to the charity of the State to save the lives of your old *employes*." Mr. Pullman, in reply, simply said: "The old men refused to

return to work when invited to do so, and their places have been filled by new men, who are sufficient for all the work in hand." Thereupon the Governor replied that he should be compelled to make a general appeal to the people of the State.

This is a lamentable state of affairs; but there is nothing new in it. Precisely similar results are everywhere produced by labour agitators, and by the policy and conduct of the Unions which they use in doing their nefarious work; workmen thrown out of employment, wives and children starving, homes made miserable, capitalists injured, and trade crippled—these are the hall marks of the base metal of Socialistic Trade Unionism. It is impossible not to feel sincere and deep compassion for the non-combatants in these strikes, the women and the children; but as for the men who permit themselves to be deluded and exploited in this manner, they are undeserving of one atom of pity. It is they who should think of their wives and children, and their homes, before they give up their livelihood at the bidding of unprincipled scoundrels who only intend to use them and then throw them away like a sucked orange. If working men themselves will not provide for those of their own household by taking work when it is offered to them, what right have they to expect that other people will provide for them? Trade Unionism, however, has actually so perverted the nature of many of these men, and so corrupted the consciences of some other members of the community, that it is actually regarded in many quarters as a virtue rather than otherwise for workmen to give up good work at good wages on some silly pretext, and then throw themselves and their families upon public charity. In these cases public charity is little short of a public sin, for it acts as a direct incentive to such men to repeat their conduct; although, as we have intimated, it is difficult for the most stony hearted to refrain from helping the women and children. It is to be feared that the agitators and the strikers deliberately calculate upon sympathy being expressed

towards their families, and thus really make their innocent wives and children pawns in their dreadful game. Women and children are exploited, in the interests of Trade Unionism, against the capitalists.

We may now profitably consider for a moment the lessons which this American Strike is calculated to teach us in this country, and the warnings which its repulsive features so impressively and emphatically set forth. Let it be noted that the Trade Unions headed by Debs and the rest of them are, in all essential respects, similar to our Trade Unions now that these latter have been subjugated by the New Unionism; so that no comfort can be drawn from the allegation that Trade Unionism is one thing here and quite another thing in America. It is the same thing in both countries. The same spirit, the same aims, and the same methods are seen in each case. The boycott is as unblushingly used in this country as it is in the United States, and, as we have more than once pointed out, the great ambition of the Trade Union leaders in this country is to so Federate all Trade Unions as to secure perfect unity and simultaneity of action. We may recur to the resolution which was carried at the Trade Union Congress, which instructed the Parliamentary Committee to "draw up a basis of common agreement for the purpose of bringing all trade and labour organizations into closer relationship *on the lines of the American Labour Federation*, so that united action may be taken when an industrial crisis arrives." Moreover, during the dock strike the Trade Union leaders endeavoured to bring about a general strike, and actually issued a "No-work" manifesto, exactly as Debs and Sovereign attempted to do in the United States. Obviously, therefore, Trade Unionism in this country is practically identical with Trade Unionism in America: both are diligently perfecting their organization and are moving heaven and earth (and also the other place) to wheedle or drive workmen into their Unions; both are actuated by a fierce and bitter hatred towards capitalists; both are managed by ignorant and reckless men who will

stick at nothing; both are avowedly Socialistic in their spirit and aims, every Trade Union in both countries being virtually a centre of Socialistic propagandism; both make no secret of their intention to injure and maim capital in every possible way, and to bring about a universal strike as soon as practicable.

Now, we do not hesitate to say that Socialistic Trade Unions of this character are a standing danger to society; that in fact they are a conspiracy against the true interests of the community; and that the community in its own interests ought to suppress them with a ruthless hand. Their aim is to make themselves a power above the law, and they have very nearly succeeded in attaining this object. For weeks together during the dock strike the ordinary rights of citizens were suspended in London; working men who wished to work were prevented from doing so by violence; and the Executive authorities took practically no step to protect these men in the exercise of their rights and liberties. It is the literal truth to say, that so far as these men were concerned, the British Constitution was suspended. It was the same in America, but worse, and, being worse, the American authorities took prompt action. Possibly if things had been no worse there than they were here the authorities would have been as supine and as diplomatically blind as they were in London. No civilized Government can afford to have what is practically another Government set up within its own borders as its rival. But the Railway Union in America, with dictator Debs at its head, was to all intents and purposes a separate and independent State; it declared war upon the State proper, and the two had to fight it out. We can imagine what might be the consequences if Little Napoleon Debs were to decide to arm his votaries with rifles, and probably this is a thing which he would not hesitate to do. In effect, therefore, the Railway Union in America was an *imperium in imperio*, a power within and above the law, and as such it was a peril to the State. The State would be justified in

using any means to suppress such a rival; even if it were to take the leaders of such a conspiracy and have them shot as traitors it would be within its rights. Indeed, this is practically what the United States Government had to do some years ago with another "Labour" movement, viz.: the Molly Maguire movement in Pennsylvania, which used assassination as its chief instrument.* The State abdicates its functions unless it sternly represses revolutionary movements of this character. Our own Government had to suppress the Land League in Ireland (which was a reproduction of the Molly Maguire movement), simply because that League, like Socialistic Trade Unionism, was *imperium in imperio*; it exalted itself above the law, and nullified the law so far as the rights of land owners and of peaceable and quiet citizens were concerned. What the Land League was in Ireland, Trade Unionism is getting to be in Great Britain, and as the State had to suppress the one, so it will have to suppress the other.

* This is only eighteen years ago, when the Republic had been established nearly a century; and it was not in the Wild West, but in Pennsylvania, where the declaration of Independence was signed. The "Mollies" murdered in broad daylight, and with perfect impunity, any workman or manager or employer who refused to obey their commands. Their avowed objects were to drive all American, English, and Welsh miners out of the country, to kill all the mine managers who refused to pay the "living wage," or to employ only such men as their "order" decreed. Jack Kehoe, who was at their head, took part in twenty murders, for one of which he was ultimately hanged, yet boasted that he held 32,000 votes in the hollow of his hand. He was paid £600 by the Republican party in order to elect their candidate as Governor, and he did elect him. The "Mollies" thus controlled the Executive power, and were sure of securing a pardon for any of their band who might be condemned to death. They also came very near putting two members of their order on the Bench as judges. The Molly Maguire movement is an illustration of Trade Unionism at its worst, but still Trade Unionism, as witness Broadhead & Co.

Some observers take a very gloomy view with regard to the future of the United States. Governor Hogg, of Texas, for example, predicted during the railway strike that within six weeks martial law would be declared in California, Kansas, Colorado, and Illinois; that the Anarchists of Chicago would use dynamite and spatter the lofty buildings of the city with the hearts, lungs, and livers of citizens; and that a great revolution was certain soon to take place, leading probably to the dismemberment of the Republic, unless a great foreign war occurred to divert attention from domestic affairs. This, be it observed, is the deliberate opinion, not of a man in the street, but of the Governor of the immense State of Texas. Another observer says: "That there will be revolution in this country, followed by anarchy, and probably a Socialistic Government, is now admitted by many well-informed people. That these events will take place in the near future, however, is very doubtful. There is no organized opposition to the existing order of things, and it will take some years to organize. But many facts point to the probability of a revolution such as will throw back American civilization for a hundred years." During the American strike a manufacturer in that country wrote to his partner here, stating that their firm had not averaged one order per day for a month, and added: "The strike is stopping everything; and according to the bulletins to-day from Chicago, the end is not yet. The drama 'Capital versus Labour' is having a tragical ending, if indeed the end is anyways near. If Debs, Sovereign & Co. call out all organized labour, as they are now threatening to do, this fair land of ours will see more blood and fire than for the last thirty years, and after it is over I imagine there will not be so much of that sentimental liberty lying around loose to shield Anarchists and other evil doers." These testimonies at least prove that a most serious condition of things prevails in the United States. What a contrast there is between these gloomy forebodings and the optimistic forecasts which we used to hear a few years ago. Within the

short space of a decade the bright hopes of the American people have been almost dissipated by dark despair, and the one thing which is chiefly responsible for this remarkable change is Socialism.

Surely it is unnecessary to point the moral—or rather it would be unnecessary to do so if Englishmen were as rational and sober in their thinking on this subject as they are upon most others. The moral for us is that Trade Unionism, in its newer development, in its Socialistic character, should not be tolerated. That kind of Trade Unionism cannot be moderate and self restrained; it cannot be kept within legitimate bounds, but must and will run into excess. The very principles upon which it is based, the very spirit which animates it, are, as we have demonstrated, of such a nature that they compel it to make war upon society in general. It is a power against the law, aiming to be above the law. If we allow it to get the upper hand here, as it did for ten days in America, we shall have to put it down by military force, as was the case there, and as was the case also in Ireland in regard to the Land League. It is no exaggeration, but literal and sober truth, to say that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that British civilization may yet make shipwreck upon the rock of Socialistic Trade Unionism, if we allow things to go on as they are now going. "Whom the gods destroy they first make mad." Any people is mad which consciously and deliberately tolerates within its borders, which even fosters and encourages, a movement which can only triumph in proportion as it eats away those principles and laws upon which the security of property and the right of individual liberty repose.

At the same time it is useless to expect much effectual help from the law in dealing with this evil. What the law can do, what it ought to do, and what it must be made to do, is to give ample and absolute protection to those rights and liberties which are threatened by Socialistic Trade Unionism; that is to employers who wish to conduct their

business in their own way without molestation, and to labourers who desire to work when and where they like and for any wages they choose without intimidation. This is about all the law can do; but this is much. Let the law visit every attempt to destroy the property of employers, or to destroy the liberties of workmen, with swift and severe punishment, and it will have gone far to draw the fangs of the New Unionism. No new laws are needed; a constant and rigorous administration of the laws we have will be all-sufficient. It is not capitalists or orderly citizens who are continually agitating for new laws; it is the discontented and disorderly factions who desire new laws which they can use as weapons against other people. It may be desirable, indeed, to alter the law in regard to conspiracy and intimidation in the direction of more clearly defining the nature of intimidation and of making picketing illegal: for no man of sense can for a moment believe that a man's business is not interfered with when his premises are surrounded by scores and hundreds of pickets. The mere assemblage of any number of pickets, beyond three, at any particular spot, ought to be made a punishable offence. However, this reform, although desirable, is not vital, provided only that the Executive authorities will rigorously apply the law against intimidation as it now exists. This they have scarcely ever done yet; but we must insist upon their doing this as the irreducible minimum.*

* Since the above words were written intelligence has arrived from Queensland which impressively confirms their truth. On September 10, 1894, it was announced that in consequence of the numerous and serious outrages which had been committed in the pastoral districts of Queensland by Unionist shearers, the Premier, the Hon. H. M. Nelson, had introduced into the Legislative Assembly a Peace Preservation Bill. In moving the second reading of this measure, Mr. Nelson said that the country in the sparsely-populated districts where the outrages were perpetrated was almost in a state of civil war; and it was absolutely necessary to resort to a special enactment in order to suppress

For the rest we must depend upon moral means. Of these we need here specify only two. The first, and the one to which we attach chief importance, is that employers should not be beguiled into what is called “recognizing” Socialistic Trade Unionism. Lord Brassey, whose experience and position give to his words great influence, and Mr. Dibbs, the Premier of New South Wales, speaking at the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce on June 30, 1892, actually denounced the folly of employers who refused to recognize Unionism. Recognizing Unionism implies the recognition of the right of Trade Unions to exclude non-unionists from work in any industry at their mere will and caprice; and this again means two things: (1) That the employer is not to be allowed to manage his own business or to engage what workmen he likes; and (2) that the workman who disobeys the orders of the Union executive is to be denied the right to live by his own trade or in his own country. Recognizing Trade Unionism therefore is recognizing a tyranny more absolute and galling than that of the Tzar of Russia or the Shah of Persia, and of a slavery more abject than that of the negroes. Yet a man like Lord Brassey actually condemns employers for refusing to recognize Unions which claim the

acts of violence. *The ordinary laws were unable to cope with the situation.* The Bill contained stringent regulations against the carrying of fire arms and the committing of outrages, and gave extraordinary powers to the magistrates in dealing with such cases. Despite the bitter opposition of the Labour members, the second reading was carried by a substantial majority. In Committee these members persistently obstructed the measure, and ultimately they were ruled out of order, and eight of them were suspended for a week. The Opposition then left the Chamber in a body, and the Bill was passed through all the remaining stages. This is an exact repetition of what we had here some years ago in connection with the Land League, and it foreshadows what we may expect in connection with Socialistic Trade Unionism. The law must suppress it, or it will trample the law underfoot.

right to denounce an employer as "black," or any workman as a "scab," simply because the said workman or employer will not submit to be bound hand and foot by irresponsible autocrats. If employers are wise they will steadfastly refuse to recognise Socialistic Trade Unionism in any way whatever. It would be a policy of downright suicide on their part to recognise in any manner the pretensions and the claims of this new and dangerous power. Mr. W. E. Abbott, of Wingen, New South Wales, expressed his views on this point in these terms in the *St. James' Gazette*, of August 16, 1892: "We in Australia are a little in advance of England in Union matters. We have gone through what our fellow-subjects in the old country are about to go through; and they may perhaps profit by our experience, though it appears just now as if every blunder made by the leaders of the labour unions in Australia which led up to our great maritime and shearers strike is being repeated in England, as if our display of wrong headed stupidity were only a rehearsal for the greater drama. Our disaster is serious enough. Even with our small population and almost unlimited resources it will be years before we recover, and in the meantime there is want and starvation on every side; but if the tactics of the labour leaders here be repeated in England, and the imbecility and cowardice of the Government there be as great as was that of ours in New South Wales, the disaster will probably be irretrievable. Australia was saved from utter ruin by the courage, capacity, and self-sacrificing determination of the Queensland Government." One chief means then upon which we must rely for counteracting the effects of Trade Unionism is the non-recognition of it by employers.

Next in importance to this we rank the reform of Trade Unionism itself. It is a curious and suggestive fact that the officials and the members of Trade Unions, though they are constantly clamouring for new laws to be applied to other people, are strongly averse to being legislated for themselves. As matters now stand these organisations occupy a dis-

tinctly anomalous position. Their property is protected by law, they exercise considerable influence, and they expect to be deferred to in various ways, and yet they have no legal liability. They are not legally liable as principals for the acts of their agents, and if they make, and break, an agreement they are not legally liable to be sued for damages for breach of contract. The time has come when this anomaly ought to be removed, and Trade Unions made legally responsible for their actions. They cannot very well be suppressed while they keep within bounds, but they can be regulated by law, and they ought to be. This is a task which the Government ought at once to take in hand.

There are two reforms which are urgent, one relating to the internal affairs of the Unions themselves, and the other to the relation of the Unions with outside bodies. The first was suggested several years ago by the late Earl Grey; the latter has been suggested quite recently by certain members of the Labour Commission.

Earl Grey's suggestion is that the voting powers of the members of Trade Unions should be proportioned to the amount which they have paid into the funds of the Union, as is the case in railway and joint-stock companies, where each shareholder has one vote, or a few votes, or many, according to the number of shares he owns. The principle, of course, is that the man who has the largest stake in the business shall have the largest amount of control in its management. Nothing could be fairer than this rule, which is found to work well in the case of great commercial enterprises, and to conduce to their prosperity and stability. No such rule as this prevails in Trade Unions, which are governed upon the principle of "one man, one vote," a principle which clearly would soon lead to the wreck of a business concern. We may run a nation upon those lines, but not a railway or a factory! What is the effect of this rule in Trade Unions? Simply to throw the management into the hands of the younger members, who have less at stake, who are less burdened by responsibility, and who

suffer less from any mistake that may be made. It invariably happens that when a dispute arises the young men, inexperienced, injudicious, hot-headed, are in favour of extreme courses; whilst the older men desire to be conciliatory towards their employers, and to act with prudence and judgment. But the latter are over-ruled and outvoted. They have to choose between being dragged into a conflict of which they do not approve, or leaving the Union at an advanced period of life, and sacrificing the benefits for which they have contributed to its funds. An old man may have paid a hundred pounds into a Union, and a young man only ten, and yet the latter has as much voting power as the former. This is obviously unjust. If the young man has one vote, the old man should have ten votes. This is but equitable on merely financial grounds. But there are other considerations which strengthen this view. The older men have wives and families, and the younger men as a rule have not, and consequently the former will suffer more severely from a strike; besides which, if the works should be closed a young man can easily move away to other employment, though an old man would find it difficult to do so. Over and above this there is the general consideration that a Trade Union, like any other reputable and responsible organization, ought to be governed by its wisest and most experienced men, and not by its most foolish and inexperienced.

If the cumulative vote were introduced into the constitution of every Trade Union, thus giving the men who have paid most the controlling power in the election of officers, in cases of strikes, and on questions of general policy, we should not so frequently have to deplore the absence of statesmanship among Trade Union leaders, nor so often to grieve over the calamitous blunders which are made by them, to the injury of their own class and the damage of the country. We have in this one expedient a simple, effectual, and moreover a just method of doing away at a stroke with the most serious and most mischievous evils caused by

Trade Unionism. The principle is not new, but is in operation in all our great commercial concerns, and if Trade Union leaders object to it they can only be actuated by sinister motives in so doing. Whatever the leaders may do, however, there is good ground for believing that the majority of older members would eagerly welcome such a change. Another Session of Parliament ought not to be allowed to pass away without a serious effort being made to carry out this reform. The legislature regulates railway companies, building societies, benefit societies, etc., and why not Trade Unions as well? Their strategy is to exempt themselves from legislation; but it is a wonder that they have succeeded so well. They ought not to be exempted any longer.

The second reform which is urgently demanded in regard to Trade Unions, is, as we have previously remarked, one which has regard to the relations of these organizations with other bodies. This reform is urged in some weighty "Observations" which are appended to the Report of the Labour Commission, and signed by the Chairman (The Duke of Devonshire) and by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Sir F. Pollock, by Messrs. G. Livesey, T. H. Ismay, David Dale, L. H. Courtney, and W. Tunstall. These gentlemen, recognizing the fact that in many of our greatest industries the relations of employers and employed are regulated for long periods by agreements between the associations which represent the two parties, have been forced to the conclusion that a radical change in the law is required in order to give these agreements a more solemn sanction and to make them more binding in their effect. They point out that at present Trade Unions and Employers' Associations "have no legal "personality, and cannot sue or be sued for damages occasioned by breach of agreement by sections of their "members"; that there is "collective action without legal "collective responsibility"; and that "while this state of "things lasts it does not appear that such collective agreements can be, as between such bodies, otherwise than

“morally binding upon them.” They show that the legislature by the provisions of the Trade Union Act of 1871, in its anxiety to give protection to the property of Trade Unions and to liberate them from all traces of having been criminal conspiracies, went too far in the opposite direction, and actually made them incapable of enjoying or exercising any legal rights against their members or their members against them, and prevented “their entering into “any legally enforceable contracts as bodies with each other “or with outside individuals, except with regard to the “management of their own funds and real estate.” The result of this is the anomalous position that we have on the one hand Trade Unions, and on the other hand large organizations of employers, both of which represent and act for immense interests connected with our national industries, but neither of which is bound by law to observe the agreements and contracts which may be entered into. Obviously, it is not in the public interests that this state of things should continue. It is not well that men, either on the employers’ or workmen’s side, should be able to exercise power without taking the responsibility of their doings. Before they act they should be prepared to take the full consequences of their actions. Under present conditions disputes may be caused, strikes resorted to, and then these disputes may be submitted to or settled by arbitration, and yet neither of the parties can be made to suffer if the agreement thus entered into is violated. Arbitration under these circumstances is little better than a solemn farce.

The remedy suggested by the Labour Commissioners to whom we have referred is that Trade Associations, both of employers and employed, should be at liberty to acquire a legal personality and a corporate character, so that they may become more tangible and substantial bodies from a legal point of view than they are at present. It will be observed that the Commissioners do not recommend that Trade Associations should be compelled to assume a corporate character and a legal personality, but that they

should be merely permitted to do so if they chose. For our part, we think the reform would be scarcely worth making if it were to be of this permissive character; for it is tolerably certain that the majority of Trade Unions would never consent to thus change their *status* voluntarily. The Commissioners express the hope that "the desire to acquire power to enter into agreements of a more solid and binding kind than heretofore," would be a sufficient motive to influence Trade Associations to incur these new responsibilities. This hope rests upon a very slender basis, at all events as far as Trade Unionists are concerned, though no doubt a good many Employers' Associations would be willing and even glad to undertake additional legal responsibility if they could be sure of obtaining by way of compensation some guarantee as to the stability of their workmen.

If this reform could be carried out, especially if it were made compulsory, the result would be, firstly, that those who enter into an agreement with Trade Associations, whether of masters or of men, which had acquired this legal personality and corporate capacity, would have a right to sue it for damages in case of breach of contract by one or by any of its members; and secondly, that the said organization would have a legal right to recover damages from any of its individual members who had broken a contract, and by breaking it had involved the whole society in legal liability. It is clear that this change would entirely revolutionize the present state of affairs. At present collective agreements cannot be enforced at law, nor can penalties be recovered for a breach of those agreements, so that the award of an arbitrator, or an agreement to do or to refrain from doing certain things, is only morally binding, which in many cases is tantamount to saying that it is not really binding at all. Collective agreements between employers and large bodies of organized workmen can be broken with impunity, no risk or penalty whatever attaching to the parties who originally made these agreements and

then treated them as waste paper. This, we repeat, is not a desirable or a safe state of things. Parties who collectively enter upon agreements should be collectively held to them by the strong hand of the law. It is not enough that they should be rendered legally capable of carrying out their contracts; it should be made legally impossible for them to refrain from carrying them out without risk or damage to themselves. The bearing of this reform upon arbitration is obvious. The Commissioners report that at present it is impossible to compel the observance of an arbitrator's award; and indeed this is but common knowledge. They further state that the procedure of arbitration is to some extent discredited by the very fact that the arbitrator "can only pronounce a decision which may or may not be followed, according to the good-will of the parties." Under the new order of things suggested, an arbitrator would be able to realise that there was some reality and some actuality about what he was doing, and the parties to the arbitration would realise that they were entering into agreements which they could be compelled to carry out, and the result on all parties would be of the most wholesome character. Indeed, this reform is so eminently desirable in the interests of everybody concerned, especially perhaps in the interests of the general community, that it is somewhat surprising that it should have been put forward in so cautious and tentative a manner by the Commissioners, and that they should have fenced around their recommendation with so many conditions and qualifications, all of which would tend to prevent the new principle from operating directly and efficiently. If it is right and necessary that Trade Associations should assume this new character and these new responsibilities, then it ought not to be left to the option of these Associations whether they will assume them or not. They ought to be compelled to assume them, and when they have assumed them they should be left to experience their full force and effect, without the intervention of any but the most necessary checks and safe-guards.

If this reform were carried out it would follow that a Trade Union would become liable to be sued for damages on account of civil wrongs caused by the actions of its officials. As the law now stands, if any official or agent of a Trade Union commits a wrong against others he can be made liable in damages, but only in his individual capacity; the society which he represents and for which he acts is not legally responsible for his actions, and cannot be made to repair the damage which he may have caused; and consequently it is in most cases not worth while to bring any action against such an individual, as in any event the result would be almost certain loss. But if the general funds of a Trade Union could be drawn upon for damages in these cases the result would be entirely different, and any person who had been aggrieved by the action of a Trade Union agent would be able to resort to his legal remedy with the assurance that he was not fighting a man of straw. There would be no injustice in this to anybody; for it is clearly equitable that Trade Unions, like other principals, should be made legally and financially responsible for the doings and misdoings of their agents. It is suggested that the Unions should also have a right to take proceedings on behalf of any of their members or their agents who may have been wronged by other parties, to which there is no objection.

It is significant that whilst the Employers' Associations appear as a rule to be favourably disposed towards the change in the law which is suggested by the Labour Commissioners, the Trade Unions as a rule appear to be bitterly hostile towards it. This, of course, does not speak well for the Trade Unions, as it seems to show that they are anxious to perpetuate the present state of things, under which they are able to run away from their agreements whenever they choose and cannot be held responsible for the misconduct of their agents. There is nothing suggested by the Labour Commissioners of which honourable men need be afraid, and if the employers are willing to assume these new liabilities and responsibilities, why should not the

workmen be ready to assume them also? However, the susceptibilities of Trade Unions must not be too carefully considered in this matter; certainly they must not be considered to the prejudice of the general public. The community as a whole is greater than any Trade Union or all the Trade Unions put together, and therefore the welfare of the community must be secured whatever may be the result to any particular section of it. The Labour Commissioners appear to have laboured under the impression that the wishes and even the prejudices of Trade Unions ought to be deferred to, and this has, to a great extent, taken the nerve out of their recommendations. Yet the Labour Commission was supposed to be acting in the interests of the nation, and not in the interests of Trade Unionism. Other people, at all events, are under no obligation to consider Trade Unionism, except in so far as it may be found to be consistent with and conducive to the well-being of the country.

No doubt there are other reforms which might be sug-

* At the Trade Union Congress of 1894 the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the supplementary report of a section of the Labour Commission, signed by the president (the Duke of Devonshire), which appeared in *The Times* of June 11, recommending additional legislation to the Trade Union Act of 1871, wherein trade societies may sue and be sued in a Court of Law for the enforcement of agreements or for the acts of their individual members, is calculated to impose grave obligations and to seriously imperil the position of Trade Unions of this country, and do hereby instruct the Parliamentary Committee to be alert in resisting any legislation of that character, as being utterly injurious to the true interest of Trade Unionism, and calculated to plunge us into costly and unnecessary litigation." Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P., the mover, said that "a direct attack was suggested upon Trade Unionism by some of the distinguished members of the Royal Commission." And Mr. Broadhurst is supposed to be an unusually moderate man!

gested in relation to Trade Unionism, but they are of minor importance as compared with the two of which we have treated. We are convinced that if these two reforms could be carried out Trade Unionism would be largely shorn of its power for evil, whilst the power which it exerts for good would be in no way minimised or restricted. So far as Trade Unions are educational and provident societies they would not be touched. It is only in their character of militant organizations that they would be interfered with; and in this respect they have responsibilities towards the general public, for the general public may be the chief sufferers from the blunders of Trade Union leaders, from the strikes which they cause, and from the disastrous loss of trade which results from those strikes. Consequently the general public, acting through Parliament, has a right to say that organizations which wield so much power for good or for evil, and the conduct of which affects not only their own members but others outside their pale, shall be regulated and restricted in such manner as may seem expedient in the interests of the nation. There can be no question as to the competency of Parliament to legislate for Trade Unions in the manner suggested; nor can it be doubted by those who have considered the matter that the reforms which we have indicated are urgently required.*

* One matter which ought to be inquired into is the officering of the Labour Department by Trade Unionists. There is reason to believe that the men who work this department are not merely avowed adherents of Trade Unionism, but fanatical, and almost rabid, advocates of that system. How can such men be unbiased and impartial? Trade Unionists are, as we have shown, an insignificant minority of the working men of this country, and it is an outrage that a Government Department should be manipulated, by the aid of public funds, almost exclusively in their interests, and therefore against the interests of the majority of working men taxpayers. Such a flagrant abuse as this turns representative institutions into nothing better than a farce. The Free Labour Association and

It may be well to repeat that the writer disclaims all motives of hostility towards Trade Unionism in its legitimate aspect, and that the strictures which he has felt it to be his duty to pass upon it relate almost exclusively to that newer development of it which has been described, and which is pronouncedly and avowedly Socialistic. If, and so far as, it can be made a power for good by judicious reform and regulation, we may sympathise with it and wish it all prosperity. But if it cannot be reformed it will have to be suppressed. The one thing certain is that no civilised and progressive nation will, or can, continue to cherish, or even tolerate, such an anti-social and destructive force as Trade Unionism is now proving itself to be.

We now turn to combinations of employers. Capital has shown that it can organize its forces as well as Labour, as working men have found to their cost. Capitalistic combinations are rendered necessary, and indeed almost inevitable, by the industrial conditions which now exist. Time was when an employer could stand alone, as he had to deal merely with his own workmen in a free and open market, under which circumstances he could always hold his own. Now this is altered. It is not only his own workmen with whom he has to deal, but also the whole of the other workmen in the country—who are engaged in that branch of trade, and who are organised into powerful Unions, who do not hesitate to use the boycott against him and to strive by every means to ruin his business. Hence he must either combine with his brother employers or go to the wall. Competition is to be restricted and modified by

those legislators who are in sympathy with its principles, should forthwith turn their attention to the cleansing of this Augean stable. The Labour Department should be completely overhauled, and those of its officials who are working for Trade Unions instead of the general community—or, what is the same thing, who regard the interests of these Unions and of the public as identical—should be at once dismissed.

combination, resorted to by both sides ; the effect of which combination is to limit the freedom of all concerned and to make for protection and monopoly. This is the situation into which we have been brought by aggressive Trade Unionism : it is in no wise an improvement upon the old state of affairs, when everybody was free to do the best he could for himself ; but it is a reality and we must accept it for better or for worse. This is the era of aggregation ; the spirit of collectivism is in the air ; combination is the fetish of the day. Masses of men are thoroughly under the delusion that they can by the mere fact of organizing themselves into a Union reverse the laws of nature, change the very constitution of things, successfully defy Omnipotence and outwit Omniscience. Under the influence of this hallucination they are rushing to join hands in combinations of all kinds, fully resolved to show what mighty deeds they can perform. And a very ludicrous spectacle they make of themselves ! Mrs. Partington, and her heroic endeavours to keep back the Atlantic with a mop, did not cut a more ridiculous figure.

Employers equally with workmen have the right to combine for their own ends. Hitherto they have been reluctant to use that right in this country. Now, however, they are showing signs of awakening, and they are beginning to combine in all directions with the object of making a stand against the extreme demands of labour. The Shipping Federation, which has already made its power felt in a remarkable manner, is only the beginning. Employers of every class will use their right of combination to the utmost. Workmen's combinations will everywhere be confronted by masters' combinations. Industrial life will become, if not a chronic state of war, at least nothing better than an armed truce. The temper of the combatants is such that neither side will be satisfied until there has been more than one pitched battle, and one side or the other has been thoroughly beaten. The issues at stake are so vital that the matter must be fought to the bitter end, and, as

Lord Derby says, the only business of the Government is to "keep a ring."

Many persons who contend that the working men should have a right to combine are unwilling to admit that the employers should have the same right. Whenever the employers, put on their defence, show signs of using their power in earnest there is generally a great outcry raised by shallow-minded and hysterical people who denounce the employers as being guilty of brutality. Yet the masters are only doing precisely the same as the workmen. Why should labour combinations attack capital, and capitalistic combinations not resist the aggressions of labour? As was remarked at the outset, there is no subject upon which people more need to clear their mind of cant at the present day than the one we are discussing.

The fact is we are rapidly approaching the same condition of affairs as exists in the United States. Wages there are not really higher than they are here, and the conditions under which labour has to be performed are much more onerous. The American employer is a much more harsh and stoical individual than his English prototype, and his relations with his work people are seldom softened by that considerateness for the welfare of those who serve him, which, happily, is usually characteristic of the employer in this country. The American employer looks upon work-people as being literally "hands." He cares little about their bodies and still less about their souls. Every human being that he employs is simply a machine, which contracts to do so much work for so much money, and woe betide the luckless individual who fails to act up to his bargain; he need expect neither ruth nor pity. If he cannot do the amount of work which he has engaged to do he must get out without further ado, and make room for somebody else. The normal relations existing betwixt employers and employed in the United States are, thanks to the extreme labour organizations which there exist, strained and embittered to a degree which is at present without a parallel

in this country. Between the capitalist and the employer in the United States there is a perpetual war. Each watches the other with suspicion and dislike, and whenever one sees an opportunity of gaining something for itself at the expense of the other it never hesitates to strike a blow. This is only what might have been expected. Like master, like servant. If working men exact the utmost farthing of wages that can by the use of combination and organisation and pressure (often illegitimate pressure) be squeezed out of the employer, and at the same time return to the employer the *minimum* amount of labour for their wages, they cannot expect the employer to have much consideration for them. Indeed, a man would be more or less than human if, when his "hands" manifest no concern for his interests, but simply rendered a grudging service for the largest possible amount of money that can be extracted from his pockets, he were to waste very much kindness over them. With what measure the workmen metes it is measured to him again. As he treats his employer so is he treated by his employer. The hardness which characterises employers of labour in America is almost revolting to an English mind, but the blame of this must be placed upon the right shoulders, and the right shoulders are those of the workmen. In the United States the employers and the employed have had war to the knife. No quarter has been given on either side; and the victory has been unmistakably gained by the masters. Employers, when they combine together, and steel their hearts against all the finer feelings of humanity, as they are virtually compelled to do by modern labour movements, are more than a match for their workmen, let the latter fume and fret and kick as much as they like. The agitators whose names have been so much before the British public of late are beginning to organise labour here in the American fashion. When they have succeeded in doing their best (or their worst) the British working man, like his American brother, will be no better but worse off, while his relations with his master will have undergone an immense

change to his detriment. We shall soon have in this country what they have in the United States—employers and employed armed to the teeth, fiercely hostile one towards the other, and always ready at a moment's notice to engage in a deadly conflict for the mastery. War usually abrogates many of the ordinary rules of civility and even of morality. Perfectly honourable men will, under such circumstances, do what they would shrink from at other times. It is, of course, pitiable that it should be so. But no amount of weeping or shrieking will mend it. It is indeed contemptible that working men, after wantonly attacking their employers, should howl like whipped curs when their employers begin to fight in earnest. If working men claim the right to use such weapons against their employers as were used in the Dock strike, and as they threatened to use in connection with various other industries, then they must allow their employers similar liberty in using sharp weapons to defend their own interests. All is fair in war, and industrial war is no exception. If British working men wish to see reproduced in this country such conditions as those which exist in the United States, then they can take no surer way of creating them than by blindly following the apostles of the new industrialism.

Now that employers are highly and strongly organized, and capital is commencing to show its prowess, the workmen and their leaders are beginning to sing a different song. They no longer boast valiantly as aforetime that they intend to fight it out; on the contrary when the battle really does start in earnest they at once begin to piteously entreat somebody to interfere and save them from themselves. Nothing is more extraordinary than the change which has come over militant Trade Unionists during the last few years than their suddenly conceived aversion to strikes. Formerly they sang the praises of the strike in full *fortissimo*, now if they sing them at all it is in the faintest *pianissimo*; most of them have altogether dropped the *jubilato*, and if they sing of strikes at all it is in a most plaintive and

melancholy minor. John Burns, who has probably done more during the last six years to promote strikes in this country than any other man, and who during the Dock strike exhausted his vocabulary of eulogy in extolling the strike as the workman's weapon, has signalled himself more than once recently by stating that the day of strikes is over. Why and whence this extraordinary change of attitude? The reason is to be found in the fact that the employers have found their feet—and their heads too, and have armed themselves *cap-a-pie*, and always stand on the defensive. Thus it is proved once more that for both sides to be thoroughly prepared for war is a sure means of preserving peace. Mr. Burns is like a big boy who has bullied every other boy in the school, until at last another boy has come to the front who can beat him, whereupon the former bully says: "Don't let us fight any more, but shake hands and be good friends." The discretion which the Trade Union leaders are beginning to show is of that kind which has been described as the better part of valour. They were all for fighting when they were pretty sure they would have things their own way; but now that a solid army has risen up to oppose them, they have suddenly been converted to the opinion that fighting is a very disastrous proceeding for both parties.

The Trade Unions and their leaders are abandoning war for diplomacy. It is a very astute move and if the employers are not very acute they will find themselves outwitted. The object of the Socialistic Trade Unionists is the same now as it always was, but they intend to use different means in the pursuit of it. What the employers have got to keep constantly in mind is that the aim of their opponents is unchanged, and while this is the case, any mere change of method is only calculated to excite suspicion. Virtually the Trade Unionists say: "We intend to wring out of the employers as large a share of the profits as possible, not resting content until we have so far stripped them that they will have nothing left but the bare means of

subsistence. John Stuart Mill tells us that we can do this, and we intend to try to do it. We have found out that we cannot accomplish this purpose by fair battle in the open field, as the employers have organized their forces against us and are now more than a match for us; but we can obtain by strategy what we cannot obtain by war, and therefore we have abandoned fighting and mean to rely upon the arts of diplomacy. What the strike cannot win for us may be secured to us through Boards of Arbitration, or through schemes of profit-sharing; consequently we intend to press for these. Political Economy is now so discredited and public sympathy has so far taken its place that we can always rely upon public opinion being brought to bear in our favour. Besides, we wield voting power enough to turn any General Election, or to put any party in power that we choose, and for this reason the politicians may always be counted upon as a great force on our side. We have only to make out a plausible case, and before the employers have time to discount it by putting their side of the question the public conscience will have been stirred, and a great wave of emotion will be created in our favour, on the crest of which we shall ride to victory." These are the sentiments which are now in the minds of the leaders of Trade Unionism; these are the motives which actuate them; these are the calculations upon which they rely. Of course they have never said so in so many words, and are not likely to say so, but these are legitimate deductions from what they do say and from the manner in which they act.

Under these circumstances it becomes our duty to scrutinize closely the schemes which are now in such high favour among the "friends of Labour," and which are put forward as substitutes for the strike and as means of remedying the dislocations between Capital and Labour. The first of these is Conciliation and Arbitration, and the second is profit-sharing. Accordingly, we shall now treat briefly of each of these, and afterwards add a few words on co-operation.

Against Conciliation and Arbitration nothing can on principle be said. Reasonable men must always prefer conciliation to conflict, and it is much more sensible to settle disputes by arbitration rather than by the sword. It is possible, however, for a thing to be very good in the abstract, but not so good in its concrete form, and this appears to be the case with Conciliation and Arbitration. At all events the experience which we have had of this method of settling labour disputes up to the present is not calculated to commend it to the favour of fair minded men. The "philanthropic arbitrator" played a prominent part in the settlement of the Dock strike, though it can hardly be said that his action was as honourable as it was prominent; for this settlement was, as we have shown in the first volume of this work, distinctly unjust, being almost wholly in the interests of the men, and against the interests of the employers. It was accepted by the latter only under protest, on the ground that the arbitrators were able to bring illegitimate pressure to bear upon them because they were backed up by the sympathy of the public. Arbitration that is partial and one-sided is worse than useless; it would be far better to leave the parties to fight out the issue between themselves, and thereby reach a settlement that is likely to be permanent, than for outside parties to interfere in order to bring about a premature arrangement which leaves a rankling sense of injustice in the mind of one of the combatants. But the difficulty which arose in connection with the Dock strike, namely, the interference of a section of the public in the interests of the workmen without any regard whatever to the merits of the case, is one that is likely to recur in connection with every great industrial conflict. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any formal method of conciliation can be fairly worked under democratic institutions; for under such institutions people who have no concern in these disputes are able to interfere in them, and through the platform and the Press to make their intervention effective. There is always a large class

in this country who are eager to plunge into any conflict on the side of the workmen, even if the workmen be wholly in the wrong, partly because they delight in stirring up disorder and creating discontent, partly because they are ready to use any weapon against the existing state of things, and partly because they are politicians with ends of their own to serve. The existence of such a class makes it practically impossible to settle disputes between Capital and Labour by calm, judicial, and rational means. The workmen, especially those of them who are in Trade Unions, know that a considerable section of the electors are always on their side, right or wrong, and they deliberately calculate upon this as a factor in their favour. It is obvious that when a strike is always popular with people of a certain class, many of them not uninfluential, workmen have a direct incentive to bring about strikes; it is equally clear that if workmen knew that their conduct would be sternly and impartially judged they would be much more cautious about going to extremes than they are at present.

Another instance of conciliation which cannot be regarded as a very happy one was that of Lord Rosebery in connection with the great Coal strike of 1893. It appears from the report of the Labour Commission that Lord Rosebery's intervention in this dispute was directly due to the action of the Government, for, referring to this matter, the Commissioners say: "In the recent coal conflict the principal Mayors in the districts chiefly affected offered their intervention without success, but a little later Your Majesty's Government, through the Foreign Secretary, was successful in bringing about an agreement." The precedent thus set by the Government, although it is one of very doubtful value, is nevertheless likely to be followed frequently in the future; in fact it is pretty certain that whenever a trade conflict of more than usual intensity and magnitude occurs there will be a cry to the Government asking it to interfere. Mr. Gladstone, in stating that the Government had decided to take some action in regard to the Coal strike,

referred to the fact that the dispute had lasted sixteen weeks, and that it had involved a large number of people, not only in the coal trade but in other occupations also, in distress and misery, and that there was ground for apprehending that permanent injury might be done to the trade of the country. He stated that the Government having regard to these grave facts, had "felt it their duty to make an effort to bring about a resumption of negotiations between employers and employed under conditions which they hope may lead to a satisfactory result," and added that he had asked both the miners and the coal-owners to send representatives to a conference to be held under the chairmanship of Lord Rosebery. He was also careful to point out that Lord Rosebery, "in discharging this duty, would not assume the position of an arbitrator or umpire, or himself vote in the proceedings, but that he would confine his action to offering his good offices in order to assist the parties in arriving between themselves at a friendly settlement of the questions in dispute.

Both parties, as a matter of course, consented to meet together in the manner suggested, the result being that an agreement was soon arrived at. The main provisions of the agreement were: (1) That the men were to resume work immediately, at the old rate of wages until February 1st, 1894; and (2) that a Board of Conciliation was to be constituted forthwith, to last for one year certain, consisting of fourteen coal-owners and fourteen representatives of the miners, who at their first meeting were to endeavour to elect a Chairman from outside, and if they failed to agree upon a Chairman, were to ask the Speaker of the House of Commons to nominate one. The Chairman was to have the casting vote, and the Conciliation Board was to have power to determine from time to time the rate of wages on and after February 1st, 1894.

This settlement, on the face of it, was almost entirely in the interests of the miners. The strike was due to the action of the coal-owners in proposing to withdraw a part of the advance

in wages which they had conceded between 1888 and 1889, and they were driven to make this proposal under the stress of bad trade, many collieries having for a considerable time previously been worked at a loss. The miners' representatives objected to give up any portion of the advance which they had received in prosperous times, and refused to work at all unless they could retain the old rate of wages. The contest went on from week to week, and from month to month, and its course was marked by the advocacy of the Socialistic proposals and demands which now-a-days are attendant upon all industrial conflicts. The miners were really fighting for the new principle which was described under the cant phrase, "a living wage." Their demand was that a rate of wages should be fixed independently of the market, that in other words it should be fixed in accordance with their ideas as to the standard of comfort, and not in accordance with the state of the market or the price of coal. Virtually, therefore, their position was the same as that of the Pullman *employees* in Chicago, who demanded that they should be paid prosperity wages in adversity times, or in other words that Pullman cars should be produced at a higher price than they would fetch in the market, which of course meant that the Pullman Company were to be so much out of pocket on every car they built. In like manner the English miners demanded prosperity wages in adversity times, or that every ton of coal brought out of the pits should cost more to produce than it could be sold for in the market, which involved a distinct loss to the coal-owners on every ton of coal brought up. Just as Mr. Pullman pointed out that the cost of producing his goods must not exceed the price which they would fetch in the market, so the British coal-owners pointed out that they could not keep open their pits except upon the basis that every ton of coal must cost less to produce than it would sell for in the market, and thus leave them a margin of profit. But neither Mr. Pullman nor the British coal-owners were heeded, for in both cases the strike went on all the same, the workmen displaying the utmost

indifference as regards the interests of the masters and the prosperity of the trade of the country.*

The settlement promoted by Lord Rosebery conceded the whole contention of the men as regards wages, which meant that the bulk of the employers were for several months longer to go on working their pits without profit or at an actual loss. By consenting to such an arrangement the coal-owners virtually stultified themselves, and it is impossible to believe that they would have done this except under the extraordinary pressure which was brought to bear upon them by the Government and by those sections of the public to which we have already referred. It cannot for a moment be supposed that the coal-owners, even under this pressure, would have consented to continue the old rate of wages if there had been no proposal to establish a Board of Conciliation ; but the proposal to establish such a Board may have suggested to them some ground for hoping that disastrous conflicts of this nature might be averted in the future. The coupling of this proposal for a Conciliation Board with the concession of the whole demands of the men was an astute move on the part of somebody, and is an illustration of that diplomacy upon which the Trade Unions are now beginning

* Mr. Pullman, however, had the common-sense to perceive that the question as to whether he should carry on his business at a loss was not a proper issue to be submitted to arbitration : what was more, he had the strength of character to retain and defend his position, and to refuse arbitration. The British coal-owners would have done well to follow his example. Had they contended that the question whether they should work at a loss, or without profit, or even without remunerative profit, was not one that could properly be dealt with by an arbitrator, and that they were the best judges as to their own business, their position would have been just, reasonable, and impregnable. Such action would have best promoted, not only their own interests, but those also of the general public. But, like the Dock Directors, they were subjected to illegitimate political pressure.

to rely. It is by no means certain that the coal-owners have not been out-manœuvred ; that remains to be seen.

The Conciliation Board was duly constituted, and at its first meeting it failed to agree upon a Chairman. This necessitated a reference to the Speaker, who appointed Lord Shand to the position. Lord Shand has proved himself to be in every way a suitable man for the post. But this has not prevented vehement and prejudiced attacks upon him by some of the representatives of the workmen. The Conciliation Board came, in July, 1894, to an agreement, the provisions of which were :

1. That the then present rate of wages (which was the old rate) should be reduced from August 1st, 1894, by taking off the last two advances of five per cent, and that the wages remain at that rate until January 1st, 1896.

2. That for a period of two years from August 1st, 1894, the rate of wages should not be below 30 per cent. above the rate of wages of 1888, nor more than 45 per cent. above the rate of wages of 1888.

3. That from January 1st, 1896, to August 1st, 1896, the rate of wages should be determined by the Board of Conciliation within the above-named limits.

4. That the Conciliation Board should be continued for this purpose for two years from August 1st, 1894.

It is somewhat difficult for outsiders to understand these complicated terms, as they involve different standards of wages, viz. : the rate of 1888, and the rate which was current when the agreement was arrived at in 1894. Ten per cent. is taken off the rate current in 1894, and the rate thus arrived at is to be the fixed rate until January 1st, 1896 ; from January 1st, 1896, to August 1st, 1896, wages are to be determined by the Conciliation Board, but with the limitation that they must not rise over five per cent. above the wages paid in July, 1894. So that the coal-owners have agreed to pay wages 30 per cent above the rate of 1888, and to pay them for a fixed period, whatever may be the state of the market. Wages may rise higher than that, but they cannot fall lower. This seems to be another attempt to resist, if not to reverse, the

economic laws of Nature. Experience proves that the coal trade is subject to peculiarly violent fluctuations, which no fore-sight can prevent. If such fluctuations again occur, it is safe to say that this agreement will be thrown to the winds. If the market price of coal should seriously fall the weaker collieries would certainly have to close, and even the strong ones might have to choose between closing and trading at a loss. If they had to choose one of these alternatives it is not difficult to decide which one would be chosen. By consenting to this agreement the coal-owners have yielded the principle of the *minimum* wage, which they stated they never would yield, and which undoubtedly they would not have yielded if this Board of Conciliation had not been formed. This is another triumph for the miners, however it may be disguised.

It is a significant fact that many of the coal-owners themselves regard the settlement very dubiously. Mr. A. M. Chambers, the ordinary Chairman of the Board, describes the action of the coal-owners as "a step which many of his friends of long standing thought a foolish one, and which had caused some of them to use strong expressions towards him." Mr. A. Currer Briggs describes the policy of the owners as "a great experiment on their part," which "some of their friends thought a very hazardous one." Addressing the share-holders of the company of which he is managing director, in August, 1894, Mr. Briggs said that: "As one of the representatives of owners who had a hand in making the late compromise on the wage question, he was happy the compromise had been effected. He knew the arrangement was not looked upon with favour by many coal-owners, and any reduction of wages must be unpalatable to the men; but on the other hand the compromise was accepted by a majority on both sides who had the truest interests of both parties at heart, and who were most far sighted." Mr. Briggs added, however, that "the owners, in taking the risks of the markets as they had done, had taken an almost unprecedented risk," and stated that the directors of their company had resolved in view of this risk to pursue a very cautious policy, and to retain sufficient money in hand

to pay a respectable dividend, even if the bargain which the coal-owners had made should prove a bad one. It will be seen, therefore, that even those who took a most prominent part in effecting this settlement do not speak of it in very hopeful terms. It is at the best but an experiment, and an experiment of which the wisdom is extremely doubtful.

No doubt the general public were surprised at this apparent surrender on the part of the coal-owners after they had made so determined a stand in support of their position, and those who took an interest in the matter must have surmised that other causes were at work besides those which appeared upon the surface. We have reason to believe that this was the case, and that the Midland coal-owners in coming to this settlement were mainly influenced by the fact that the position of their Federation had been materially weakened by the wholesale desertion of the Nottinghamshire coal-owners in the midst of the great strike of 1893, in violation of their most solemn pledges. The Midland coal-owners, in the face of this desertion, felt that there was no chance of their getting a sufficiently compact and unanimous body together to resist any unreasonable demands which might be made by the Miners' Federation when the term for which the Conciliation Board was appointed had come to a close. Two alternatives were open to the owners:

1. They might have resolved to make the best of the Conciliation Board while it lasted, and endeavoured to get a reduction in wages awarded by the umpire, unfettered by any stipulation in regard to a *minimum* or *maximum* wage. Had they chosen this alternative, they would have had to face, firstly, the possibility, perhaps even the probability, that on November 17, 1894, when the Board would have ceased to exist, the miners would demand the return of the reduction thus granted; and secondly, the certainty that the outside coal-owners would at once have granted this advance in wages, and that the main body would have had to follow.

2. They might have decided to make the best bargain possible in order to get some immediate relief in the shape

of a reduction of wages by amicable agreement, and this is the course which they actually took.

This course was taken after full consideration and in spite of very strong and influential opposition from many coal-owners. That section of the coal-owners which was in favour of the agreement actually arrived at were of opinion that it was the best course to take in the interests of those coal-owners who were loyal to the Federation and who were financially strong; though they were quite alive to the fact that if the fixed rate of wages turns out to be higher than the state of trade will justify, it will prove a very serious matter for the less favourably situated collieries, which may have to be closed. This would of course react on the miners employed in those collieries, who would thus find themselves entirely deprived of employment.

Whilst, therefore, it is by no means certain that the agreement will prove to be in the interests of either coal-owners or miners, it is certain that it will prove to be adverse to the interests of the general public. Undoubtedly it will tend to artificially bolster up the price of coal, and whatever tends to force up the price of coal is injurious to the interests of the people generally, who must pay more for their fuel, and especially injurious to those great industries which are dependent upon coal. Mr. Pickard and his colleagues have got a grip on the throat of the nation, and this agreement tends to strengthen that grip. If Messrs. Pickard & Co. could induce the miners of the North of England, of Wales, and of Scotland to join their Federation, they would be able to absolutely paralyze every industry in the country if any demand which they might choose to make, however unreasonable it might be, were not instantly granted. The policy of these gentlemen is to get all the miners in the United Kingdom into their Federation by hook or by crook, and it ought to be the policy of coal-owners to prevent this. But the coal-owners of Wales and of Scotland, of Durham and Northumberland, will find it more difficult than ever to keep their men from joining the

Miners' Federation now that this agreement has been come to by the Conciliation Board. So that the coal-owners of the Midlands, and of Lancashire and Yorkshire, have increased the difficulties of the coal-owners in the districts referred to, and to that extent have aided and abetted the officials of the Miners' Federation against them. Many of the Midland coal-owners were very reluctant to weaken the hands of the coal-owners of Wales and Scotland and the North of England, but they contended that the desertion of a section of the coal-owners in the Midlands left the remainder no option but to take what they could get by agreement, or to remain stranded high and dry with the wages rate at from fifteen to twenty per cent. above all competing districts.*

Two or three months ago a Cab strike took place in London of a somewhat unusual character, inasmuch as the cab drivers and cab owners do not stand towards each other in the relations of employer and employed. The custom of the cab owners is to provide horses and cabs, and to supply them to the drivers at so much per day; whatever the drivers make over this amount constituting their remunera-

* At the time of writing a Coal strike is going on in Scotland—for the second time within twelve months—and it is the opinion of competent judges that if the Scotch coal-owners win, and win thoroughly, the Scotch miners will be prevented from going over to Mr. Pickard's Federation, at any rate for many years to come, and that if the men win they will at once go over to Mr. Pickard wholesale. Of course it is in the interests of the public that the Miners' Federation should be weakened and not strengthened, and therefore it is a matter for congratulation that the Scotch strike is showing signs of collapse, the men being beaten at every point.

It is a significant fact that in connection with both these strikes in Scotland the Government have been implored to interfere, as they did in the case of the Coal strike in England. Thus the influence of this evil precedent lives and spreads.

tion. The drivers contended that too much was charged to them for the hire of the cabs, and they demanded that the terms should be reduced. This the owners refused, and the men went on strike. Not only did they refuse to take out the cabs themselves, but they also picketed the yards of the masters in the orthodox Trade Union manner, and refused to allow anybody else to take them out. Mr. Asquith, the Home Secretary, intervened in this strike, as Lord Rosebery, the Foreign Secretary, had done in the Coal strike, in the professed capacity of a mediator, though his action was rather that of an arbitrator. He heard both sides of the question, and then decided that the cabs should be let or hired at certain rates throughout the year. His award was perhaps as equitable as any award could be, and was in the nature of a compromise. It did not give complete satisfaction to either party, and several misunderstandings and disputes arose in regard to it, which necessitated further appeals to Mr. Asquith, who in the end became weary of the whole business, stating that he had had quite enough of mediation and arbitration. The point to be noted, however, is that in this case one of the leading members of the Government intervened, which came to pretty much the same thing as the intervention of the Government itself, and that there seems to be a growing disposition on the part of Governments to interfere in trade disputes. This is a tendency which cannot be regarded with satisfaction. The less Governments have to do with such matters the better.

With regard to the general question of Conciliation and Arbitration, all that need here be said is that it is eminently desirable that this method of settling disputes should be as largely resorted to as possible, always provided that it be resorted to voluntarily by both the combatants. The demand that arbitration should be made compulsory upon both parties cannot be too strongly deprecated, as being contrary to all the traditions and principles of the English nation and destructive of the liberty which Englishmen

prize almost as dearly as life itself. This demand is, however, continually being put forth, and it appears to grow in persistency and strength year by year. Compulsory conciliation would of course be a contradiction in terms, as no such thing is conceivable. The very idea of conciliation is that of drawing people together; but people would be driven and not drawn together if they were compelled by an Act of Parliament to meet with a view to conciliating each other. Conciliation must, in the nature of the case, be voluntary; and arbitration must be voluntary also if it is not to be shorn of its grace and its effect.

Voluntary conciliation and arbitration can of course be resorted to by people of their own free will, without any coercion by Acts of Parliament. Some of our legislators, however, are actually introducing Bills into Parliament every year in order to promote voluntary Conciliation and Arbitration. If ever there was a work of supererogation, surely this is one; and it is a pity that the said legislators cannot find a more profitable way of spending their own time and that of the nation. If people have the disposition to conciliate each other or to submit their differences to arbitration, they will do this of their own motion, without any assistance from the legislature. If this disposition is lacking in them all the Acts of Parliament in the world would be of no avail.* It is a marvel that our politicians

* Mr. Robert Knight, Secretary of the United Society of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders, in the monthly report of that society issued in August, 1894, referred with some bitterness to the moulders' strike, which had continued four months, and through which 1,500 moulders had thrown 20,000 shipyard and other workmen idle, thereby causing much distress. On the question of conciliation he said: "The second quarter's accounts for the year 1894 are a little disappointing to us, as we were in hopes at the commencement of the year that we should have had a favourable summer's work; and this, no doubt, would have been the case had not the moulders' and pattern-makers' strike taken place. The baneful influence of this

cannot or will not learn from past experience in this matter. There are Acts upon the statute book already which relate to this very subject of arbitration, and although they have not been repealed they are virtually dead, simply because nobody cares one whit about them, or ever thinks of resorting to them. Two Acts were passed, one in 1825, and the other in 1837, to the effect that when a formal application is made to a magistrate of the district where a dispute arises, he may nominate not less than four or more than six arbitrators, one half being employers and one half workmen. The Court thus formed can deal with disputes arising out of existing contracts, though not with disputes as to future wages, except by mutual consent of the parties concerned, and the award of the Court can be enforced by distress and imprisonment. This surely ought to satisfy even Mr. Mundella and Mr. D. H. Schloss, and the other advocates of compulsory arbitration. These Acts are as dead as

dispute has caused the closing of several yards. People, and workmen especially, talk about conciliation; but, unfortunately, the spirit of conciliation is wanting. The real difficulty arises from the intemperate language used, which engenders a bad feeling and makes a good understanding impossible. While the spirit of hostility prevails nothing sensible or rational is listened to. It is impossible to form any conception of the loss and the suffering that results from such a dispute as we are experiencing on the north-east coast. Employers and every one else would benefit largely if there was no reduction in wages, but a good rate agreed upon for all classes, and let it be fixed for, say, five years. If at the end of that time trade was prosperous an advance might be given all round, but no reductions. We want steady trade, and this would be sure to follow if strikes became a thing of the past." A more emphatic condemnation of the spirit and conduct of Trade Unionism was never penned. "No reductions in wages" would suit the workmen admirably, of course, but even immunity from strikes might be too dearly bought by employers at that price. Evidently these men, like the miners, want a *minimum* wage to be fixed.

Queen Anne, as nobody appears to have ever thought of using them. In addition to these measures, further acts were passed in 1867 and in 1872, of one of which Mr. Mundella was the author, and this Act empowers employers and workmen in any trade to form a standing Council of Arbitration under a license to be obtained from the Home Secretary, and large powers of enforcing awards, similar to those contained in the Acts of 1825 and 1837, were to be conferred upon these standing Councils of Arbitration. But nobody has ever heard of such a Council being formed, or of a license to form one ever having been applied for through the Home Office.

Whilst legislation on this subject has been an utter failure, efforts to form voluntary Boards of Conciliation have met with a considerable degree of success. Many such Boards are now in existence, and they are doing useful work. But the politicians wish to mar the work of these Boards by investing them, upon their being registered at a Government Department, with the legal powers contained in the Acts before alluded to of enforcing their awards. Why cannot these busybodies let well alone, and allow the good work that has been commenced by these voluntary Boards to proceed without let or hindrance? The advocates of legislation have but one idea, and that is the idea of compulsion, and to introduce any element of compulsion in connection with Conciliation is, we repeat, a manifest absurdity, and it will certainly prove fatal to the very objects which the advocates of such legislation profess to be anxious to promote. All the good that has ever been done in this direction so far has been accomplished by voluntary methods, and this is a strong presumption in favour of those methods. On the other hand, every attempt to deal with this matter by legislation has been an absolute failure, and this is a strong presumption that similar attempts in the future will fail also. New South Wales, like the mother country, has had its Labour Commission, and one of the recommendations made by this Commission was that

Courts of Conciliation and Arbitration should be established. On March 31, 1892, an Act was passed for the purpose of establishing such Courts, but it contained no provision of a compulsory nature. Shortly afterwards the great strike at the Broken Hill Mines commenced, and lasted for three months ; but the Act in question was not resorted to by either party. It was so absolutely nugatory that it might as well have not been passed at all. In New Zealand also a Conciliation Bill has been passed by the House of Representatives. This was a compulsory measure, which provided that all disputes between employers and Trade Unions "should be compulsorily referred to a Court of Conciliation presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court ; but the Legislative Council struck out the compulsory clause, and left it to the option of the disputants whether or not they invoked the help of the Court. The compulsory clause was regarded as a most important feature of the Bill, inasmuch as the measure, if it had passed in that form, would at least have furnished to the world a curious experiment in democratic politics, the results of which would have been in any case instructive. The probability is that that measure would have been as dead a failure as the other Acts alluded to. The advocates of legislation, however, contend that the laws hitherto passed upon this question have failed because they were voluntary in their character, and that if Compulsory Acts were substituted they would be successful. This view we believe to be erroneous. It is quite possible, however, that the advocates of compulsion may carry their point, and that English employers and workmen may before long have a taste of a very unpleasant form of coercion. If this should turn out to be the case, we venture to predict that any Compulsory Act of this kind will either prove a dead letter or will speedily be repealed. We shall no longer be worthy of the name of Englishmen when we allow Parliament to deprive us of the liberty of quarrelling with each other or of settling our quarrels in our own way.

The sum of the whole matter is this : that as disputes will arise between employers and workmen, human nature being what is, it is eminently desirable that when such disputes do arise, every legitimate effort should be made to conciliate the parties, that is to draw them together with the view of inducing them to settle their differences amicably ; that voluntary Boards of Conciliation, which aim at doing this, are deserving of every encouragement ; but that Parliament and the State would do well to keep their hands off this question, as their intervention will inevitably do more harm than good. What masters and workmen most need is to be left alone. If they are left to themselves they will be sure to find methods of settling their differences much more effectual than any that can be imposed upon them by an external authority.

Profit sharing demands our consideration, not on account of its intrinsic merit or importance, but rather on account of the extrinsic and artificial consequence with which it has of late been invested by its advocates, including the Labour Commission. In the Report of the Commission profit sharing is described as a simple form of industrial organization which aims at harmonising, "as far as may be, the interests of employers and employed in private undertakings," and it is defined as a system under which "the employer, while retaining the general conduct and government of the business in his own hands, institutes a system by which, after payment of wages at current rates, and payment of a fixed amount of interest upon the capital invested in the concern, together with remuneration for management by the employer, the residue of the net receipts is divided in fixed shares between capital and labour." How this system can be described as simple we are at a loss to understand, for in practice it is found to be unusually complex, which is indeed one of its defects. It is noteworthy, however, that while the Labour Commissioners are careful to abstain from condemning profit sharing, they are equally careful not to specifically recommend it. They state, indeed, that : "With

regard to industry at large, it seems clear that for a long time to come the bulk of it must be conducted on the present system of employers remunerated by profits and workmen receiving wages": in which circumstances it is a pity that as practical men they should have wasted their time in discussing a proposal which they know to be impracticable, and thus investing it with a fictitious importance; whilst it is a still greater pity that they should have added: "All the evidence shows that for the last fifty years the line of general progress has been in the direction of the acquisition of a kind of limited industrial partnership on the part of the workmen." Wisdom was not born fifty years ago, especially economic wisdom, and those who wish to go to the root of these matters would do well to go back five hundred years rather than fifty.

The phrase used by the Commissioners, and just quoted, viz., "industrial partnership," is one of the cant phrases which are now coming into vogue and which really mean nothing. Of course there is a sense in which employers and employed must necessarily be industrial partners, simply because their energies are alike engaged in one form of industry, the one supplying brains and money and the other manual labour. But this natural and obvious meaning of the term is not what is meant by those who speak of "industrial partnerships"; in their mouth the phrase indicates the reception of the workman by the employer as a partner who participates in the profits of the concern. We do not hesitate to say that the assumed right of a workman to be in this sense a partner is entirely imaginary, which rests on no basis of fact or reason, and which has been invented by Socialistic Trade Unionism: and, further, that any employer who recognises this alleged right is acting contrary both to his own interests and to those of the working man. The only unassailable and impregnable position which can be taken up on this question is that the workman is entitled to the wages which he earns weekly under his contract, and *to no more*; that this is

his full share of the product ; and that all that remains after the whole cost of production is met belongs to the employer. This is common-sense, and it is equity ; it is simple and easy to be understood ; it works no ill or injustice to any party ; it commends itself to the reason and conscience of mankind universally ; and it has the experience of centuries in its favour, for it is the system upon which all successful industry has hitherto been carried on. When once this principle is tampered with the door is opened to endless confusion and discontent.

It is only necessary to reflect for a moment upon the absurdities into which the theory of " industrial partnership " would land us in order to perceive how unsound and pernicious that theory is. The workman is here to-day and gone to-morrow, while the business in which he is employed may have been established for generations. As a rule the workman of to-day has had nothing whatever to do with the establishment of the business, which was founded by the ability and energy and money of the proprietors ; all that the workman has done in most cases has been to walk into the factory or workshop, and take the work which has been provided for him by others. Merely to have work thus provided is in itself an advantage. This work he contracts to do for so much money ; when that money is paid to him he has absolutely no further financial interest in the business, except to the extent that he may during good behaviour reasonably look to it for further work on similar terms. To talk of him being a partner in any other sense than the natural and necessary one above adverted to is mischievous nonsense. What have the railway workmen of to-day had to do with constructing and maintaining the railways ? Or the seamen of to-day with building and equipping ships ? Or the miners of to-day with sinking and maintaining coal-mines ? Or the cotton and woollen operatives of to-day with erecting factories and filling them with machinery ? Or the dockers of to-day with constructing the docks ? Or the farm labourers of to-day with

fertilizing and stocking the farms? Nothing—absolutely nothing. And the same must be said about all other forms of industry. All that these workmen have done has been to enter into the labours of others, and appropriate the work and the wages provided for them by Ability and Capital. We repeat that this provision of remunerative employment is in itself a boon conferred upon labour by capital, for which labour ought to be thankful, and with which it ought to be content—always provided that labour is adequately and fairly remunerated by capital for its services. But the modern doctrine, forsooth, is that these workmen, who have done nothing to originate the industry, who have never sweated their brains over the concern or put a penny into it, are to be exalted to the position of partners who receive a proportion of the profits in addition to full weekly wages. The notion is preposterous; it is a mere fad of doctrinaires; and practical men who conduct their business prudently and rationally will never accept it. How this whim has ever come to be seriously regarded among a nation of common-sense people is a mystery—or rather it would be a mystery if under democratic institutions all sorts of chimeras were not advocated by politicians whose only concern is to flatter and gain the support of the unthinking populace.

Our contention is that profit sharing :—

1. Has no real or satisfactory basis in either economics or ethics, but is merely a dictate of political expediency.
2. Is a concession to Socialism, which claims that the whole of the product belongs of right to labour. To give the Socialistic Labour party a part of the profits will never satisfy them; it will merely whet the appetite for more.
3. Is one-sided and partial, as it makes no provision for sharing losses. But there are losses in business as well as gains, and equity demands that those who participate in the one should

also share the other. In demanding profit sharing the workman is playing a game of "heads I win, tails you lose;" for he gains, and the employer loses, in any event.

4. It breaks down in practice, and stands discredited by its failure in the past.

The latter is really the most vital and important point of all; for Englishmen are a practical race, who will accept a system that works well in practice even if it be unsound in theory, while they will not accept a system which is theoretically sound if it fails under practical tests.

Profit sharing is not new. Lord Wallscourt tried it as far back as 1832, and so far as is known this was the first attempt ever made to put the system into operation. But Lord Wallscourt's experiment was a very small one, as it was restricted to a farm of a hundred acres. Moreover, it did not rest upon a common-sense basis; for Lord Wallscourt's plan was "to reckon every workman as the investor of as much capital as will yield at five per cent. per annum the sum paid to him in wages." But as the workman had not invested a penny, the whole scheme was founded upon a fiction. A wealthy landowner may indulge in silly freaks of that kind, but such indulgence would prove costly to a man of business, who has to make his profits exceed his expenditure, for it would soon land him in the Bankruptcy Court. What would be thought of the sanity of the chairman of a railway who should propose "to reckon every workman as the investor of as much capital as will yield at five per cent. per annum the sum paid to him in wages," and to give every workman not only the full market rate of wages but dividends upon this fictitious capital as well? The point to be noted, however, is that Lord Wallscourt's plan of profit sharing died with him, no such system being now in existence on any part of the Wallscourt estates.

The history of the application of profit sharing to agriculture is little better than a melancholy record of almost total

and unbroken failure. One landlord after another has instituted schemes of this kind, usually of a benevolent character, involving expense to the landowner, only to abandon them at great loss after a few years' trial. Mr. Bolton King tried two experiments of this kind at Radbourne Manor and Ufton Mill, in Warwickshire. After four or five years' working he wrote off all losses at both farms, reduced the interest from six to five per cent., and made a new start with a new manager under improved rules. But all this was ineffectual to stem the tide of adversity. In 1890, after eight years' experience, the schemes were discontinued. During the whole time only one bonus was paid at Radbourne, and this we are told was probably never earned, while at Ufton no bonus was ever paid at all. Mr. Bolton King states that the loss on the two farms was very great, even "mounting into thousands."

Mr. Albert Grey (now Earl Grey) who is (or was) an enthusiastic advocate of profit sharing, has applied the system to farming on a larger scale than any other man. His profit sharing farms consist of 3,765 acres, upon which 118 men are permanently employed, besides fifty temporary labourers. He commenced the experiment in 1886, and from 1887 down to 1893 only 1·5 per cent. on their wages has been paid to the labourers at Howick as bonus: at East Learmouth the bonus paid from 1887-91 was 4·3 per cent. on wages; while at West Learmouth and Chevington Moor no bonus appears to have been paid. This cannot be called success. Mr. Grey seems to be satisfied with the results, and he justifies his principle of taking all the loss and sharing the profits on the ground that the system gives him the pick of the labour market; but there is evidently no enthusiasm among the labourers in regard to the scheme, whilst many of them doubt its wisdom. Mr. Grey appears to stand almost alone in holding the view that he secures a higher class of labourers than other employers. The one thing which appears certain is that no ordinary farmer could with safety adopt the system of dividing his profits among his labourers.

In view of this experience as to profit sharing on farms, it is not surprising that enthusiasm on the question should have subsided. The farm labourers have lost heart on the matter, and they no longer hope for any augmentation of their wages from this source; whilst landowners, with such examples as that of Mr. Bolton King before them, fight shy of a system which would merely prove a further drain upon their constantly diminishing resources. As for tenant farmers, the scheme could never have been regarded as feasible by them; if a few of them ever had a leaning towards it they have no doubt changed their attitude now. The fact must be faced that the plan of cultivating land under the profit sharing system has broken down under the strain of practical experience, and that it is hopeless to expect any improvement of the position of those who are engaged in agriculture from this source. This failure may be due to the bad times, or to defects inherent in the system itself, or partly to both causes, but the fact of the failure remains.

M. Leclaire, the Paris decorator, has usually been regarded as "the father of profit sharing," which he introduced into his business in 1842.* Mill and others expected great things from Leclaire's action, and anticipated that his example would be largely, if not generally, followed. The fact is, however, that profit sharing has made even less progress in France than it has in England. The report of Mr. D. F. Schloss on Profit Sharing, issued during the present year, is the fullest history of the subject yet published, and the total number of experiments in profit sharing in this country with which it deals is only a hundred and fifty-two, of which fifty-one have ceased to exist, leaving only a paltry one hundred and one cases in actual existence. Yet England stands at the head of the list, France being second. Mr. Schloss says: "The truth of the matter is

* For a description of his system, see Mill's *Political Economy*, Popular Edition, Book iv., Chap. vii.

that many years before profit sharing was introduced by Leclaire, this system had been adopted by Lord Wallscourt in Ireland ; that the first writer to advocate the system was the English economist, Babbage ; that there have been in this Empire far more numerous experiments in profit sharing than in France ; and that, not only is the total number of profit-sharing experiments (past and present) much larger in this Empire than in any other country, but the number of our existing profit-sharing firms is greater than that of which any other country in the world can boast."

Here, then, we have a system which has been in existence for over half a century, which has been advocated and extolled by eminent writers, and upon the propagation of which wealthy men have spent thousands of pounds. Nevertheless, it has made scarcely any headway. Why has it not been more generally adopted ? There can only be one reason, viz., that the system is radically unsound, that it rests upon no rational or equitable principle, that in short it proves to be in practice, as a rule, a means of augmenting the wages of the labourer at the cost of the employer, without giving the latter any corresponding advantage. A system which in a great commercial country like England has been adopted in only one hundred and fifty-two cases, which in one third of these cases has been dropped as a failure, and which in the remaining hundred instances is sustained largely by philanthropy, surely stands discredited before the world. It is a marvel that a Government Department should spend so much time and money in galvanising a system which has proved itself to possess no inherent vitality—in whipping a dead horse.

The great argument urged in favour of profit sharing is that it will promote good feeling between masters and men and induce the men to take a keener interest in their work. This of course implies that bad feeling exists between the two classes, and that the workman cares less than he ought to do about his work and the interests of his master. Undoubtedly this is the case to a great extent. But why is it ?

Largely on account of the influence and the action of Trade Unions, of which we have already adduced ample proof, and further evidence of which may be found in the fact that the zeal of workmen has materially slackened and that the relations between masters and workmen have become much more embittered since Trade Unions acquired power. This state of things is not natural. The natural thing is that master and man should regard each other with mutual respect and consideration, and that they should do their best to promote each other's interests. This natural order of things Trade Unions have subverted wherever they have gained supremacy. Now, in order to repair the mischief thus caused by Trade Unionism, we are asked to adopt a system which would create further evils, perhaps greater than those under which we now suffer.

By some of its advocates profit sharing is even put forward as almost a panacea for the ills which now afflict capital and labour. In September of the present year the "British Empire Defence Association," an Australian institution, which is said to have recently commenced operations in this country, and with which the names of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Clinton, and other noblemen are associated, issued a circular to employers respecting a gigantic profit-sharing scheme which they were engaged in organising. In this circular they state: "What the next move of the forces directed against the wealth, intelligence, and loyalty of the country will be, none can tell; but we feel there is great need to bring capital and labour on a more satisfactory footing, and more closely together. We propose a movement, the objects of which are to induce manufacturers to put aside certain portions of profit for division amongst the workpeople every three months. It will give the men greater interest in having work properly performed, to watch the masters' interests, to increase the profits; it will keep the men more united to the master, more under control, do much to prevent strikes, and the men will then, for their own protection, weed out the idle

agitator themselves, as opposed to their interests, and we shall do our best to assist the movement by suitable literature and meetings. Where the system has been adopted it has been a great success, and a great means of improving the cordial relations between master and man for the general good, and promoting return of confidence and security; it would have great effect in this direction on investments. The condition of trade and commerce shows that there is urgent need for some reform; the bankruptcy report just issued shows for the year 7,968 failures, entailing a net loss to creditors of no less than the enormous sum of £10,690,453, with a further falling off in Clearing House bank returns of three hundred millions sterling. These startling figures speak for themselves, and is it not time to act?"

The motives of the authors of this circular are no doubt excellent, but they are evidently imperfectly acquainted with the facts bearing upon the system which they recommend. If they had read Mr. Schloss's report on the subject they could never have made the misleading statements which we have quoted as to the "great success" of profit sharing and its "great effect" in improving trade. Indeed, only fanatics could have penned such a circular; for men who believe that the adoption of profit sharing would restore prosperity to our commerce would believe anything. It is stated that a number of replies "cordially endorsing the scheme" have been received, which is a matter for regret, as employers who resort to this expedient are almost sure to rue the day that they do it.* In other cases, however, employers asked for further particulars; it is not recorded whether the Association supplied them, but they may be found in abundance in Mr. Schloss's Report. Messrs. Swan & Hunter, shipbuilders, of Newcastle, say in their

* It is a remarkable feature of Mr. Schloss's Report that case after case is given where employers who adopted profit sharing shortly afterwards became bankrupt. A mere coincidence, perhaps, but the impression it makes is unfortunate.

reply : " We have your circular respecting the movement to induce manufacturers to put aside a certain portion of profit for division among the workpeople every three months. The subject interests us, and we hope it will be taken up by any manufacturing companies and firms so situated as to be able to deal with it satisfactorily. In our case one great difficulty is the fluctuating nature of the shipbuilding trade, which deprives shipbuilders of all profits several years in succession. We cannot fully appreciate the advantages of an association of various firms for the purpose of carrying out the object, although we presume it is for the purpose of equalizing dividends among workpeople. We shall, however, be glad to receive copies of any private circulars you may issue on the subject." Several years without profits ! And labour being paid all the time just the same ! What can the profit sharers do in such a case as that ? If employers are well advised they will preserve an attitude of great caution upon the entire question of profit sharing.

Experience proves that even as regards the promotion of good feeling between masters and men, and the quickening of the workman's interest in his work, profit sharing is to a great extent a failure ; whilst it is absolutely powerless to detach members of Trade Unions from their Unions, or to induce them to prefer the interests of their employers (and of themselves) to the interests of those organizations. As for the men themselves " weeding out the idle agitator " under the influence of profit sharing, it is an empty dream ; there is nothing in the nature, or the history, or the results of profit sharing to warrant the assumption that it will or can do anything of the kind. On these points we may again take as a witness Mr. Schloss, who, although he is an advocate of the system, has supplied evidence of its failure weighty enough to sink it ten thousand fathoms deep in the ocean of blighted hopes. Even as a method of thwarting and counteracting Trade Unionism, for which it has often been used, profit sharing has not succeeded except in a few cases. The South Metropolitan Gas

Company, under the guidance of Mr. George Livesey, resorted to it as a means of defeating the machinations of the Unions and their leaders, and in this instance that end seems to have been successfully attained. One unfortunate result of this is that Mr. Livesey has come out in the character of an enthusiastic advocate of profit sharing. In the report of the Labour Commission, of which he was a member, Mr. Livesey has a memorandum on this subject, and in this he does not exhibit the perspicuity of thought and the sobriety of judgment which we had a right to expect from so clear-headed a man. He admits that profit sharing can be applied only to some occupations or businesses, and that it is hard to say which; that it is difficult to fix upon a fair method of dividing the profits; and that when profit sharing is introduced into any business it is essential as far as possible to take the employed into confidence. The latter is in itself a fatal objection. What right have workmen to know all the ins and outs of their master's business? Their only concern is to do the work for which they are paid and to receive the wages for which they have agreed to do that work. It is surprising, too, to find a man of Mr. Livesey's strong common-sense adopting and repeating the cant of labour agitators to the effect that "the workers have passed from slavery to serfdom, and then to the wage hire system, and they will get beyond that some day"; that the wage hire system does not produce content or industrial peace; and that workmen do not get "their share of the product of labour, management, and capital." Yet no attempt is made to show what "their share" really is, or that they do not really get their share, and their full share, under the present system, as we contend that they do on the whole and in the main. And nobody knows better than Mr. Livesey that the absence of "content and industrial peace" is due to the presence of Trade Unions, which, in conjunction with profit sharing or any other system, will always take care that employers and employed shall not be upon too friendly terms. Under the wages system the

Unions say that the workman does not get his fair proportion of the product; under profit sharing they would say the same, for a mere percentage will never satisfy men who claim the whole of the product; and they will continue to ask for more until they have appropriated all, which is the demand and the aim of Socialism, with which Trade Unionism is now practically identical. If Mr. Livesey had been content to advocate the application of profit sharing to such exceptional businesses as gas companies, "where the profits are always strictly limited by Parliament," and where shareholders and consumers have been made virtually partners by the law, no fault could have been found with him. Those who make the gas and those who use it have, under the sliding scale, a common interest in keeping its prices low; the lower the price of gas the better it is for both of them; and if they like to say that the workmen engaged in the manufacture of gas shall likewise participate in the profits, it is not for outside parties to complain. But because profit sharing is suitable to a peculiar industry like gas making, which is regulated by Parliament, it does not follow that it could be successfully applied to private and ordinary businesses, with which Parliament has nothing to do; or even that it would be suitable to other businesses with which Parliament does interfere, as, for example, railways. Mr. Livesey assumes that it does, and that, it appears to us, is his fundamental error. Beyond this, however, Mr. Livesey seems to go much further than the facts warrant when he declares: "The other trades and industries that have adopted profit sharing with success are sufficiently varied and numerous to prove its adaptability to a very large proportion of all the industries of the kingdom; very few, however, have been brought before the Commission, for the simple and sufficient reason that where profit sharing is in force, there industrial peace prevails, there is no antagonism between employers and employed, and consequently no grievances to be made public and no remedies required." The facts given in Mr. Schloss's

Report certainly do not sustain this roseate view. To a brief examination of that Report we will now turn. The facts to be noticed, together with the evidence already adduced, will conclusively prove on which side there is most of truth and reason in regard to this matter.*

One of the earliest and most notable examples of profit sharing in this country was that of Messrs. Briggs & Co., the great colliery owners, of Normanton, which covered a period of nine years (1866-74). During this time the amount of £40,151 was distributed in the shape of bonuses, or shares of profits, between 989 men and 214 boys, or nearly £4,500 a year. Here the benefit to the workmen was not shadowy but substantial; yet they were not contented. Although they received a share of the profits they expected to receive the same increase in wages as was given at other collieries where the men received nothing beyond their weekly wage, and they absolutely declined to accept profit sharing as a substitute for Trade Union organization. In 1868, after the scheme had been in operation two years, "a growing desire to join the Union began to manifest itself, on the ground that, as the company agreed to pay the average weekly wages of the district as well as a share in the profits, it was to the interest of the workmen to aid that endeavour."† In 1872, a dispute arose because one third of the men, contrary to orders, stayed away from work to attend a demonstration of the Miners' Union, and they were told that they would have to choose between profit sharing and Trade Unionism. Other disputes arose from time to time, and in 1874 Messrs. Briggs, with the other employers of the district, announced their intention of reducing the men's wages; but the miners, including the profit sharers, declined to submit to this reduction, and went on strike. The share-

* Of course it is impossible to do more than allude to a few cases out of the 152 dealt with by Mr. Schloss.

† The interests of the employers received no consideration at all.

holders then decided to discontinue the bonus, and this experiment came to an end. Messrs. Briggs stated that : "Many of the men themselves had expressed a wish to the same effect, having an idea that we were in some way merely keeping back a portion of their wages to be probably (but not certainly) returned to them at the end of the year; and they said they would prefer to be paid precisely the same wages and be put on the same footing as men at other collieries." In this case, therefore, profit sharing entirely failed to make the men contented or to inspire them with confidence and goodwill towards their employers; though in no case has it ever had a fairer chance of success.

Messrs. Fox Brothers & Co., of Wellington, Somerset, who employ 1,100 persons, have had a scheme of profit sharing in existence since 1866. Mr. J. H. Fox, a member of the firm, read a paper on the subject before the Social Science Association, in which he certainly does not speak of the results with enthusiasm, and he is said to be of the same opinion now. He states that there has been no extra attention or carefulness on the part of the work-people, except in the case of foremen and others in places of trust, who have an additional stimulus from the fact that they are paid partly by results, and that when a high rate of interest has been paid applications for increased wages have followed, "it no doubt being thought that as the business had been prosperous a better rate of wages could be afforded." The vital portion of Mr. Fox's statement, however, is this: "As long as a business is prosperous and well managed all will go on well; large profits will be divided, and the *employees* will be satisfied. But when hard times come, either from depression in the trade carried on, or from bad management, then difficulties will arise, the work-people may become dissatisfied, and in the latter case especially may insist on the management being changed. In any case the difficulties of the principals will be greatly increased, and they may come into awkward collision with their work-people. I fail to see that the introduction of industrial partnerships will

altogether solve the wages difficulty. Divide the profits as you will between capital and labour, it will always be a question open to dispute whether that division is a fair one. It is true that by introducing plans whereby labour is to share directly in the profits made by the joint action of capital and labour, the total profits earned may be augmented, and the earnings of the labourer be also increased, yet after all he may remain dissatisfied with his share, and may demand either an increase of wages or a larger share in the profits." Emphatically is this a case of "damning with faint praise." We cannot conceive of any employer being consumed by a burning desire to start profit sharing after reading Mr. Fox's remarks. Employers have difficulties enough with their men now; but those difficulties would be enormously increased if they were to put their workmen into the position to question and criticise their doings and to claim a share in the management of their business. That would be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire with a vengeance.

The following testimonies from employers who have tried profit sharing (and they are not all that might be given) confirm the views already expressed:—

1. Mr. James Simms, of the firm of Messrs. Troughton & Simms, mathematical instrument makers, who tried profit sharing, says: "The scheme was not a success; very few workmen at that time cared at all about it, and the few who did value the scheme were of the opinion, at the conclusion of the trial, that with such a majority indifferent to its success it was unworkable." Accordingly the scheme was abandoned.

2. Mr. J. Grinson, manufacturing engineer, of Leicester, tried profit sharing for about five years. His testimony is as follows: "The employers found that at first the men exhibited extra zeal, special carefulness, and greater economy; but that as the novelty of the profit sharing arrangements wore off this improvement ceased to be maintained. An incident which occurred in 1877 caused

some disappointment to the firm. The men had, at a time when the firm was especially busy, had a holiday, involving the loss of two days' work. Being asked to work an hour overtime per day until this lost time was made up, at the ordinary rate of pay, the men refused, demanding to be paid at the extra rate for overtime (25 per cent. above the ordinary rate) established by the Trade Union. The employers thought that this conduct on the part of the men showed that they considered themselves more bound to the Union than to the business." The scheme appears to have been dropped, however, chiefly because during a period of bad trade there were no profits to be divided.

3. Messrs. W. Hill & Son, bakers, of London, who tried profit sharing for some years, state: "We thought by sharing the profits with our people we should stimulate their intelligence, and stimulate the interest they took in our business, but we are sorry to say that we did not find that any such results followed. The workman who was energetic and interested in his work before, was energetic and interested afterwards. The workman who was careless and slovenly before was careless and slovenly afterwards. We therefore abandoned the system."

4. Messrs. John Thomasson & Son, cotton spinners, of Bolton, stated their experience of profit sharing in the following terms: "The system was introduced with a view of giving the *employees* an interest in their work, thus improving the quality of the work done, and saving unnecessary waste of time and material. The result obtained, as far as could be seen, was *nil*."

5. Messrs. C. Rowley & Co., of Manchester, carvers, gilders, and picture framers, who tried the system of giving bonuses to their work people, and allowing them to take shares in the business, abandoned the system chiefly because the prosperity of the firm having sent up the price of shares, many of the workmen who had acquired shares, sold them out at a profit, and "thenceforth manifested a decreased interest in the success of the business."

In the case of Messrs. John Crossley & Sons, carpet manufacturers, of Halifax, the shareholding workmen acted in a similar way. At one time the £10 shares were quoted at £18 and £20, and "the temptation to realise the profit was too great for many of the *employees*, consequently the number holding shares has been greatly reduced."

6. Messrs. M. Wright & Sons, elastic web manufacturers, Leicester, arranged to commence profit sharing with their workmen, but soon after all their weavers joined in the general strike which took place in the elastic web trade. Consequently the proposal to commence profit sharing was abandoned.

7. Messrs. W. Jacks & Co., iron merchants, of Glasgow, state that profit sharing proves satisfactory when the firm does well, and promotes a friendliness and harmony in the work. But they add: "When the amount to be distributed is small there is naturally a certain amount of 'glumness,' which does not exist where nothing is expected but the agreed upon salary."

8. Messrs. W. Davies & Co., pork packers, Toronto, Canada, state: "We cannot say that we know of any better service from our men arising out of the plan of profit sharing. We have never had any trouble with our *employees* before or since such a system was adopted. The faithful men in our staff are faithful as before, and the time-servers, of whom we doubtless have our share, have given no evidence of increased interest in our business."

9. Mr. Thomas Scott, printer and publisher, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, says: "I do not think the men are yet educated up to the standard which will render the system (which I still consider sound) satisfactory. The men have the history and bias of the past hundred years to contend against. They are suspicious that any endeavour on the employer's part to better their lot is generated by some motive for the master's good only. The larger minded, better educated, take more kindly to it, and more readily appreciate any offer of this kind." Mr. Scott adds that

except in the case of the superior men no extra zeal was manifested and that the amount of supervision required was no smaller than usual, and states emphatically that extra supervision would pay him decidedly better than profit sharing.

10. Messrs. Peto Bros., the great firm of builders, of London, proposed to give to the workmen employed on one of their contracts, viz., the extension of Cane Hill Asylum, under the London County Council, one quarter of the whole nett profits as a bonus in addition to their wages; Messrs. Peto being bound by the contract to pay wages at existing and recognized rates and to observe such hours of labour as were generally accepted as fair. The accounts were to be prepared by the firm's auditor, and they were open to examination by a representative of the workmen. Messrs. Peto announced that if the result of this experiment proved satisfactory they intended to adopt profit sharing generally. The scheme was, however, strongly opposed by the Trade Unions, who issued a manifesto denouncing it, and the London United Building Trades Committee wrote to Messrs. Peto on Feb. 1, 1890, asking them either to modify the scheme or withdraw it. They did neither. But the Trade Unions apparently managed to render it null and void, for the financial results of the contract were such as not to admit of the payment of any bonus. One of the partners in the firm writes: "I regret to say that the result of our experiment was unsatisfactory; any extra zeal on the part of those employed was, I think, neutralized by the action of the Trade Unions, who opposed the scheme from the first."

11. Mr. G. Mathieson, managing director of Messrs. Clarke, Nickolls & Coombs, manufacturing confectioners, says: "Having always had the most harmonious relations with our workpeople, we cannot see that there is any noticeable difference in our relations with them since adopting profit sharing. It would be incorrect to say that the work-people had by extra diligence, &c., wholly recouped the bonus paid them."

12. The secretary of the London and Deptford Tramways Co. says that the profit sharing scheme which they introduced in 1890 "was not much appreciated by the men in the service of this company, and has, therefore, been abandoned."

13. Messrs. Browett, Lindley & Co., engineers, of Patricroft, introduced a scheme of profit sharing in 1890, which failed, partly owing to the exaggerated notions which the workmen entertained concerning trade profits, which led them to imagine that they would receive a very large sum of money. When they found this was not to be the case they at once ceased to exhibit the extra zeal they had at first shown, besides manifesting considerable dissatisfaction. Mr. Thomas Browett, director of the company, states that he still believes profit sharing to be economically sound, and especially expedient in cases where trade organizations prohibit piece-work, and he adds: "I have no doubt that where prosperity generally can be relied upon in the business, all parties would be well pleased with the result. If any large loss during the year swamps profits, and no bonus is payable, the men having exerted themselves to earn one are at once discontented. It is new to their minds to work without a proportionate and certain reward. The element of risk and the vicissitudes of an employer's life are unknown to them. They are prepared to take anything, but to give nothing."

14. Messrs. Idris & Co., mineral water manufacturers, of London, who tried profit sharing in 1890, state: "The introduction of profit sharing has, we think, been satisfactory, and has prompted harmony and a better feeling between *most* of the regular hands and the employers, but the effect on *some* of the regular hands and a large proportion of the hands which only require work in the season, and have no desire to attach themselves to any firm by permanent work, has been bad. These hands (who were perfectly satisfied before) began to make unreasonable demands for increase of wages, payment for overtime, &c., incited by one or two

Socialist men among them, and even when they were discharged for dishonesty and misconduct, made continuous and insulting demands for their 'share of the profits.' ”

15. Mr. James Duckworth, provision merchant, &c., of Rochdale, who employs one hundred and fifty persons, commenced profit sharing in July, 1891, as an experiment, and the sum of £400 per annum has been divided amongst the *employees* in proportion to wages earned, the bonus being paid in cash. Mr. Duckworth thus states his experience: “The system has not proved satisfactory. For a time we thought it answered, but soon found that in the vast majority of cases increased interest in the firm’s work was *nil*. After trying the experiment fairly, we have now given it up. In introducing the system I told my *employees* it had no connection with their wages. Where there was a standard rate I would pay it independently of the bonus. Other men would have fair wages, and if not satisfied, would be at liberty to improve themselves. Still the effect desired did not show itself, viz.: increased zeal, less waste, &c.; and as the system necessitated much extra booking, we have lately ceased it altogether, and advanced wages ten per cent. all round, so that now we pay considerably above standard rates, and our men seem better satisfied.”

16. Messrs. John Williams & Sons, provision merchants, &c., of Manchester, introduced profit sharing in 1892. In a circular issued to their assistants during the following year they stated that they were much disappointed with the results of the scheme, and they further stated in answer to some enquiries which were made to them:—“While we would give full acknowledgment of the fact that some of our assistants have worked heartily and zealously, with the view of making our experiment a success, it is none the less the fact that as a whole the experiment has proved a failure. The men who have worked to make it successful were good men under the former conditions. The average assistant does not seem, however, to have realised the meaning of

our proffer to share profits, and we have failed to find in a general way that any effect of a positive nature has resulted."

17. Sir Alfred Hickman, M.P., issued a circular to his workmen at the Spring Vale Furnaces in 1891, in which he stated that he had always acted upon the principle that the interests of employer and employed were identical, and that he had endeavoured to carry out that principle by utilising the capital accumulated in good times to keep them fully employed in bad times. Their wages had risen and fallen with the price of iron, so that they had shared in the prosperity of the business. He was, however, desirous of giving fuller and more practical effect to that principle by giving them a more direct interest in the result of their labour. Sir Alfred continued :

"In a word, I propose to divide amongst you a share of the profits of my business. As soon after 30th June, 1892, as the result of the year's working can be ascertained, I shall divide amongst you a certain share of whatever profit is made during the preceding year. I do not tell you what that share will be because I do not wish everyone to know my business. The amount will be divided in proportion to each man's individual earnings by his own labour, and will be strictly confined to those who have worked for me during the whole year. Of course it will be a purely voluntary gift on my part, and will not entitle you to consider yourselves my partners or divest me of the power of discharging any man whose services I wish to dispense with. Calculated on the basis of the profits of the last year it would give each man a substantial bonus, and if the year ending 30th June, 1892, is no worse it will, I hope, form a nest egg for further accumulations. Now mind, I don't expect that what I give you will be all loss. I reckon that you can, by a little extra care on the part of each man, more than make it up to me. I don't expect you to work harder, but I expect you to avoid waste, to see everything made the best of, and to bear in mind, at all times, that each one of you is interested in the

result. It is an experiment, and I do not bind myself to continue it if it does not answer my expectations."

A year later Sir A. Hickman issued another circular, in which he stated that though the year had been in many respects an unfortunate one the bonus to be given to the workmen amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the whole of their wages throughout the year, and announced that a Bank had been opened for their use and that interest would be paid on deposits at the rate of five per cent. He added :

"I told you that I expected I should be repaid, at any rate, some part of the amount given to you, by your increased attention, by greater care in avoiding waste, and by the natural result of a general feeling amongst you that everyone was directly interested in making the works pay. I cannot say that, except in a few instances, I have seen any evidence that this has been realised. I am willing, nevertheless, to try the scheme for another year, but whether I continue it after that time will depend entirely upon the result. I am told that there is danger that some of you may spend the money in drink, and that neglect of work may be the consequence. I do not believe this, but, of course, if any man should so far forget himself, he would be excluded from any participation in the future, and I must add that if any case of wilful waste, or neglect, should be reported to me during the year, the man responsible will be excluded. If I see that you avail yourselves of this opportunity, it will be the greatest inducement to me to persevere, but if I find the money is wasted, I shall have no encouragement to do so."

Sir A. Hickman's latest utterance on the question, quoted in Mr. Schloss's Report, is this: "I cannot say that there has been any perceptible result. . . . On the whole it is considered that as yet the experiment has not been fully tried."

These examples are surely sufficient to prove that the statements which are now so freely made as to the absolute and unqualified success of profit sharing are wildly exagger-

ated, even if they do not prove it to be a complete failure. No doubt there are other employers who speak of profit sharing as having been a success, but it is significant that many of these speak in very qualified terms, and that others have evidently adopted it under the influence of philanthropic motives rather than as a matter of business, while nearly all of them have tried it for so short a time that their experience is of little practical value. Certainly profit sharing is no remedy for what is wrong between employers and employed. There is a coddling, grandmotherly element in it which is repugnant to the feelings of robust and independent men; it confuses the interests of masters and workmen, and creates distrust and discontent among the latter, by engendering in their minds the idea that they ought to have a much larger share of the profits than it is possible to give them, and that if they do not get this they are being wronged. It is surely a significant fact that working men themselves, when they become employers as shareholders in co-operative societies, sternly discountenance the system of profit sharing. But the great co-operative societies, we believe, without a single exception, are among the employers who do not and will not share their profits with their workmen. Surely working men ought to understand their own class, and if profit sharing were what it is represented to be by some enthusiasts they would no doubt be the first to adopt it.

After all that has been said it remains true that the weekly wage system is on the whole the best. It is doubtful whether any man whatever is really better off than a competent workman who is in regular employment at good weekly wages. Such a man has less anxiety than almost any other, whilst he enjoys practically as much of all that is essential to health and happiness as any other man can do. Moreover, it is certain that the workman receives as large a share of the joint product of Capital and Labour under the weekly wage system as he would receive under any other, and probably more, for the hope of making

large profits for himself is a great incentive to the employer, and induces him to undertake enterprises which he otherwise would not think of doing—by which enterprises the workmen profit. It is quite possible that if profit sharing became general, and the employer knew that he had to give a large portion of the profits, which are rightfully his own, to his workmen, he might manifest less zeal and energy and ability than he now does. It is practically certain that any general change from the present system in the direction of profit sharing would be a bad thing all round.

The ideal system of remunerating labour, however, is piece work. Of course this system cannot be universally applied; perhaps, indeed, it can only be applied over a very small area of the industrial world. Such workmen as agricultural labourers, indoor servants, grooms, gardeners, gamekeepers, shop assistants, seamen, railway men, and numerous other classes, could not in the nature of things be paid by results. But even where piece-work is practicable, it is not adopted to the extent that it might be, and that it ought to be, largely owing to the antagonism which is manifested towards it by Trade Unions. It was a contention of M. Thiers that the piece-work system, which rewards each worker in exact proportion to the quantity and quality of the work which he produces, was the best of all methods of remuneration, and undoubtedly he was right. M. Thiers gives one or two striking facts in illustration of this view. One of these may be here related.

“The owner of a great engine factory lent for a time his works to his workmen, so that there was no capital sunk in the formation of an establishment, and he agreed to buy at a stated price the machines or parts of machines they might construct. This price has been augmented 17 per cent. on the average. The associated workmen were to govern themselves, and to share the profits among them. The master had nothing to do with them. He paid for the machines, or portions of machines, and naturally he was not to pay until the work was done.

“The associated workmen remained divided, as they were before, in different departments (a great facility of organization, since they had only to continue the habits they had acquired); they placed at the head of each department or workshop a president, and a general president over the whole. They preserved the former classification of wages (another facility arising from acquired habits) except that they gave three francs instead of two and a half francs to the lower class, that of common labourers, and they discontinued paying the skilful workmen (*marchandeurs*, or middle men) the high wages resulting from piece-work. These did not, like the rest, work all day; yet as they must be satisfied in a certain degree, they were accorded supplementary wages of ten, fifteen and sometimes twenty sous, which, added to the four francs of average wages, gave five francs at the most to those workmen who had previously earned six, seven, or eight francs a day. These supplementary wages were given by the presidents of the workshops. After having thus raised the wages of the mere labourer, and lowered those of the clever workmen, the following was the result of the three months’ trial.

“There was a daily tumult in the workshop. ’Tis true the tumult was pretty general then, and was not less at the Luxembourg, or the Hôtel de Ville than in the manufactories. The men took holidays whenever it pleased them to form part of this or that demonstration, which, however, only injured the workmen themselves, for the proprietor paid only for the work when done. But they did not work much when they were present, and the presidents charged with the maintenance of order and the supervision of the labour were changed two or three times a fortnight. The general president, having no local supervision in the workshops, was subject to fewer variations of favour, being changed only once during the period of the association. Had they worked as before, they would have received a sum of 367,000 francs in these three months; but their returns were

only 197,000 francs, although their prices were raised 17 per cent. The principal cause of this smaller production was not owing solely to the fewer number of days and hours they attended the workshops than before, but because, when present, they did not work with such activity. The piece hands, who only received at the utmost a trifling supplement of francs, were not very zealous in labouring for the association. The men whom they generally took with them when they were on piece, to whom they gave a small additional sum, and whom they superintended in person, were left to the almost negative supervision of the presidents of the workshops, and a thousand workmen out of fifteen hundred manifested that ardour with which men are animated when they do not work for themselves. In a word, 100 labourers received half-a-franc a day more; 300 or 400 workmen received their ordinary 300 or 400 francs, but during fewer days, for they took more holidays; and the 1,000 clever mechanics, who formerly worked by the piece, were deprived of the excess due to their exertions, and which raised their daily wages to seven, eight, or ten francs. Accordingly, the good hands were all determined to leave the establishment, and when the three months assigned to the association had expired it came to an end without a single protest. It was a kind of insolvency, for it owed many hours which had not been made up, and had swallowed up the little capital of a benefit-fund, instituted by the owner of the establishment previously to this philanthropic administration.

“Ten sous more a day to a hundred labourers out of 1,500; the wages of 300 or 400 more kept at the same point; those of 1,000 clever hands diminished; the whole body much poorer in consequence of absences, representing 32 per cent. of time lost; 197,000 francs worth of work instead of 367,000 in the same period; all the good workmen disheartened; and finally, the association itself insolvent after three months' existence, although there was an establishment already prepared by the owner—this was the result.”

Another instance of a similar character is given by Mr. J. H. Burton in his *Political and Social Economy*; it is quoted from M. Leon Faucher, to whom M. Thiers is said to have been considerably indebted for some of the ideas which he propounded in his *Rights of Property*. The instance is as follows:—

“I am an ex-manufacturer of bottles. In this branch of industry the labourers are and have been from the commencement partners in the capital; for the wages are paid at so much the hundred bottles manufactured. Thus each depends upon the fortunate or unfortunate chances of the melting of the matter to be turned into glass. At the opening of the *campagne*, the six master workmen and their assistants having united among themselves, proposed to me that wages should not be paid to each according to what he had produced, but according to the mass of bottles made, and the value divided into six parts, for each master blower and his assistants. I hastened to accept this community amongst the workmen, but, willing to preserve emulation, the produce of each master workman was every day affixed in the workshop. I had then realized the two conditions equality of wages and the point of honour in the work. It gave a personal interest for all the workmen to unite their efforts to expedite the work in order to increase it, and consequently the rate of wages. At first the emulation was great enough; there was a struggle to discover the value of each workman. This once established, I found, first, the most skilful of the workmen resting themselves while the others laboured. To my complaints I received for reply: ‘Don’t trouble yourself, I will make as many bottles as the man who makes most.’ This position was quickly felt from step to step, and our observations soon received for reply from almost the worst of the workmen: ‘It is not me who will make fewest bottles and most refuse.’ The classification of workmen remained the same during all the *campagne*. The point of honour in the work was thus satisfied; nevertheless, production was reduced by

degrees, consequently wages were also, in such a manner that the eighth month of the field presented a deficiency from the first of about 70 per cent. In the following *campagne* I put aside the community; every labourer received the wages of his produce, and the result was strikingly different. The strongest workman hurried along with him all the others; the worst acquired thus by his efforts a value superior to what he originally possessed."

The lesson taught by these instances is still further emphasised by Louis Blanc's notorious experiment in 1848. Blanc's maxim, as is well known, was this: "For each according to his faculties; to each according to his needs." This, of course, is the ideal of Socialists, who would deny to the able man the reward of his ability, and to the diligent man the reward of his industry, and give to the incompetent and lazy the same reward as to the capable and industrious. Trade Unionism works in the same direction, as it opposes piece-work, which is absolutely the justest method of rewarding workmen, and insists upon day work, which it does in the interests of the least capable and worthy of the workmen, and therefore against the interests of the employer. Any persons or associations who condemn piece-work in those cases where it can be properly applied, by that very fact lay themselves open to suspicion of desiring to pay the workman more than he has earned. No honest workman will desire to take wages for which he has not laboured, and consequently he will not be averse to the system of payment which proportions his remuneration to the quantity and quality of the work which he produces. Let us turn, however, to Blanc's experiment, the following account of which was given in *The Economist* of May 20th, 1848:—

"The greatest experiment made by Louis Blanc was the organization of tailors in the Hôtel Clichy, which, for the purpose, was converted from a debtors' gaol into a great national tailors' shop. This experiment began with peculiar advantages. The Government made the buildings suitable for the purpose without rent or charge; furnished the

capital without interest, necessary to put it into immediate and full operation; and gave an order to commence with for *twenty-five thousand suits* for the National Guard, to be followed by more for the Garde Mobile, and then for the regular troops. The first step taken was to ascertain at what cost for workmanship the large tailors of Paris, who ordinarily employed the bulk of the workmen, and performed Government contracts, would undertake the orders. Eleven francs for each dress was the contract price, including the profit of the master tailor, the remuneration for his workshop and tools, and for the interest of his capital. The Government agreed to give the organized tailors at the Hôtel Clichy the same price. Fifteen hundred men were quickly got together, with an establishment of foremen, clerks, and cutters-out. It was agreed that inasmuch as the establishment possessed no capital to pay the workmen while the order was in course of completion, the Government should advance every day, in anticipation of the ultimate payment, a sum equal to *two francs* (1s. 7d.) for each man in the establishment, as the subsistence money; that when the contract was completed the balance should be paid, and equally divided amongst the men. Such fair promises soon attracted a full shop; and when we visited the Hôtel Clichy upwards of fifteen hundred men were at work, and apparently were not only steady, but industrious. The character of the work they were upon at the time, the urgency of the ragged Garde Mobile for their uniforms, formed an unusual incentive of exertion; the foreman told us that, notwithstanding the law limiting the hours of labour to ten, the '*glory, love, and fraternity*' principle was so strong that the tailors voluntarily worked twelve or thirteen hours a day, and the same even on Sundays: they seemed to forget the stimulus of the expected balance which each was to receive at the conclusion of the contract.

"What was the result? For some time many contradictory statements were put forward by the friends and opponents of the system. Louis Blanc looked upon it as

the beginning of a new day for France. He had already arranged that as the tailors were the first to begin, the cabinet-makers should next be organized, and one by one all the trades of France. He forgot that he would not have an order for the cabinet-makers to furnish half the houses in Paris to begin with : this, in his estimation, was no difficulty. He had in view public warehouses for the sale of furniture ; and although not a chair or table had been sold in the existing over-stocked shops for two months, he had no doubt about customers. But the result of the experiment in the Hôtel Clichy has been fatal. The first order was completed : each man looked for his share of the gain. The riches of Communism, and the participation in the profits, dazzled the views of the fifteen hundred tailors, who had been content to receive 1s. 7d. per day as subsistence money for many weeks : no doubt every one in his own mind appropriated his share of the ‘ *balance* ’ ; for once he felt in his own person the combined pleasure of ‘ master and man.’ The accounts were squared. Eleven francs per dress for so many dresses came to so much. The subsistence money at 1s. 7d. a day had to be deducted. The balance was to be divided as profit. Alas ! it was a balance of loss, not of gain ; subsistence money had been paid equal to rather more, when it came to be calculated, than sixteen francs for each dress, in place of eleven, at which the master tailor would have made a profit, paid his rent, the interest of his capital, and good wages to his men, in place of a daily pittance for bare subsistence. The disappointment was great when no balance was to be divided. The consternation and disturbance was greater when a large loss was to be discussed, for which no provision in the plans had been made. The customers—that is, the new *National Guard* and the *Garde Mobile*—were in a rage at the detention of their uniforms, and the whole attempt seems to have resulted in confusion and disappointment. Louis Blanc is not a match for the master tailors of Paris.”

Chambers' Encyclopædia, referring to this subject in its

article on "Competition," says :—"It was an object of the French Provisional Government of 1848 to abolish competition, and place all workmen on a par, as some expressed it, or, according to others, to remunerate them, not according to their service, but according to their wants. A great experiment was tried at the Hôtel Clichy, where 1,500 were employed to make the uniforms of the National Guards, the price of which was to be equally divided among the workmen; but even in the climax of enthusiasm they did not work up to the mark of the lowest Paris tailors under the competitive system. *As each one felt that the value of any extra exertion would be divided among the whole fifteen hundred instead of being enjoyed by himself, his zeal relaxed, and even the thought of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity,' was insufficient to rouse it.*"

Mr. J. H. Burton, treating of the same subject with especial reference to the account given in *The Economist*, says :—"We scarcely think that the able author of this account has given full emphasis to the cause of the failure. The remuneration of French tailors will of course bear some relation to their value as workmen; and therefore when they are paid even by day's wages each one has some pecuniary inducement to work well. The impetus with which they started at Hôtel Clichy was insufficient as a substitute for this ever-present motive. *Of every effort which he might be inclined to make the individual tailor felt that the result would not come in the form of reward to himself, but would be spread over the whole fifteen hundred engaged in the contract; and the fraction of such a result was an insufficient stimulus to exertion.* The natural gravitation, if we may so call it, of labour is towards idleness, unless there be an ever-present motive for exertion. In fact, *uniformity of payment excites a competition in idleness.* Where there are unequal salaries and uniform work, he has the best bargain who has the largest salary; but where there are equal salaries and all work as they please, he has the best bargain who works least."

John Stuart Mill, alluding to French co-operative associations, says: "With wonderful rapidity the associated work-people have learnt to correct those of the ideas they set out with which are in opposition to the teaching of reason and experience. Almost all associations at first excluded piece-work, and gave equal wages whether the work done was more or less. Almost all have abandoned this system, and after allowing to every one a fixed *minimum*, sufficient for subsistence, they apportion all further remuneration according to the work done; most of them even dividing the profits at the end of the year in the same proportion as the earnings. Even the association founded by M. Louis Blanc, that of the tailors of Clichy, after eighteen months' trial of this system, adopted piece-work. One of the reasons given by them for abandoning the original system is well worth extracting." He then quotes the following from Fenguerau: "'Besides the vices I have mentioned, the tailors complain that it caused incessant disputes and quarrels, through the interest which each had in making his neighbours work. Their mutual watchfulness degenerated into a real slavery: nobody had the free control of his time or his actions. These dissensions have disappeared since piece-work was introduced.'"

Where piece-work exists in conjunction with machinery which automatically adjusts the rate of wages, as is the case in South Wales and Monmouthshire, we surely have a system of remuneration which comes as near perfection as possible. In South Wales the Sliding Scale system is in operation, and the principle of the Sliding Scale is that wages rise and fall with the rise and fall of the price of coal. When coal is dear wages are highest; when coal is cheap wages are lowest. Nothing could be fairer than this arrangement, by means of which the workmen actually share in the profits, though in a simple and unobjectionable way. Evidently the miners of South Wales are satisfied that it is a just method of remuneration, for they have worked contentedly under it for many years, and have been preserved from all

the evils of strikes. The Sliding Scale committee, which consists of eleven representatives of the masters and eleven of the men, and meets once a month, works the system. The coal-owners also have a very strong Association, with funds amounting to over £100,000, which acts as a society for mutual assurance and indemnity against loss from strikes. If the miners at a particular colliery threaten to strike, the owner appeals to his Association, and if they support him against his men he is indemnified for any loss which he may suffer through a strike, so that he is no sufferer financially, whilst on the other hand none of his men will be employed by any other member of the Coal-owners' Association. No doubt this firm combination on the part of the employers has had as much to do with preventing strikes as the Sliding Scale itself.

During recent years, owing to depressed trade, the price of coal has fallen, and with it of course the rate of wages. This reduction, instead of being accepted by the South Wales miners as a natural consequence of bad trade, has been received in a spirit of dissatisfaction, which appears to show that the miners as a class are not capable of intelligent reflection upon these matters. Some of them even carried their insensate vengeance so far as to vote against Mr. Herbert C. Lewis, avowedly on the ground that his father, Sir W. T. Lewis, is the author of the Sliding Scale! Apparently they believe that Sir W. T. Lewis is a magician who can increase or decrease the price of coal at his own will and pleasure. Such men clearly do not act upon rational principles, and it is difficult to deal with them as rational beings.

The Miners' Federation is fiercely opposed to the Sliding Scale system, for reasons which are sufficiently obvious, and it has made, and is making, determined efforts to detach the South Wales miners from their allegiance to it and to draw them into its own arms. In the best interests of the miners concerned, and also of the country at large, it is to be hoped that these efforts will continue to be unsuccessful;

though, as we have pointed out, the power of the Miners' Federation for evil has been strengthened by the Conciliation Board. If, as John Stuart Mill states, the opposition of Trade Unions to piece-work is "discreditable" and indicative of "a low moral condition," we may affirm still more emphatically that the antagonism of the Miners' Federation to the Sliding Scale is disgraceful, and evinces a spirit which cannot be too strongly condemned. South Wales may bid farewell to its industrial peace, and to much of its phenomenal prosperity, if it allows the Miners' Federation to exercise dominion over it.

Piece-work is, of course, individualistic, as every man has to work for himself, and therefore attends to his work, leaving his companions to do the same or not, as they like. It is no concern of his whether they work little or much; what he has to think about is his own work and his own reward. The man who works little, and performs that little indifferently, must take the consequences; the man who works much, and works well, will gain the highest reward. Associations of workmen who employ other workmen, whilst they are against profit sharing, are in favour of piece-work. This is surely a noteworthy fact.

Finally, to sum up this whole question, is not this discussion about profit sharing very largely a matter of words—mere words? Is it not a fact that workmen under the present weekly wage system are really participating in profits? Their wages are paid out of profits; when profits cease to be earned their wages will cease to be paid. Wherefore, then, all this ado, all this pother, about profit sharing? Working men do actually now share the profits of production with their employers, and their share is as large as it would be under any other system that might be substituted for the present one. The moral of all this, both for employers and employed, is surely this—"Let well alone."

Of co-operation it is, happily, possible to speak in terms of unqualified approval and commendation. Its foundation

principle is sound. That principle is self-help, or more properly perhaps, self-help by means of mutual help, or mutual help by means of self-help. For co-operation, like Mercy, is twice blessed; "it blesseth him that gives, and him that takes." Its peculiar distinction is that it cannot benefit one member without benefiting all. In both its forms, distributive and productive, it is deserving of every encouragement. For there is no Socialistic element in it, though there is a social element, which is indeed its very life. It makes no appeal to, places no reliance on, the State; its appeal is to the legitimate self-interest and the manly pride of the workman, to that robust independence which has ever been his chiefest glory. So far as it succeeds it can only result in making the workman more free, more self-reliant, more capable and experienced, and therefore more averse to dependence upon the State and less likely to be deluded by Socialism.

Co-operation is not an attack upon capital or capitalists; it is an attempt to create more capital and to increase the number of capitalists. Therefore it protects and cherishes and encourages capital in every possible way. It contains no element hostile to capital, and it never so much as lifts a finger to destroy capital; on the contrary, it is from the necessity of its nature friendly to capital, and its constant anxiety is to diffuse it more widely. It is not an assault upon private property; it is a recognition of it, and it will prove to be a bulwark in its defence. Working men who associate together in a co-operative enterprise deal with their own property and not with other people's; they can only accumulate that property by the practice of such virtues as prudence, diligence, and providence; and in the management of the property thus acquired they learn from that most efficient of all teachers, experience, how difficult it is to wisely manage property, to prevent its being frittered away, and to cause it to be productive.

Herein, of course, co-operation differs absolutely from the new Trade Unionism, with which indeed it has nothing in

common. The two can never coalesce, though one may absorb the other into itself, and make it a part of itself. Socialistic Trade Unionists are making feeble attempts to fraternise with co-operators, and co-operators are endeavouring, still more feebly, to reciprocate these kindly attentions. But there is, and can be, no true sympathy between the two, and only one result can come out of this chilly and artificial fraternisation, and that is the gulping down of co-operation into the capacious maw of Socialism. The purpose of the Trade Unionists is to swallow the co-operators, and just now they are licking and beslaving their intended victim preparatory to bolting it down their throat. The unctuous manner of the Socialists towards the co-operators, their honeyed words and effusive caresses, are all so much web spun by the spider to attract the fly. If ever the Socialist tiger and the co-operative lamb lie down together, the latter will be inside the former. It is a mystery that co-operators themselves should apparently be so blind in regard to the devices of their disguised enemies. When Socialists like Mr. Tom Mann go up and down the country advocating co-operation it is indeed difficult to measure the confusion which prevails. What concord hath co-operation with Socialism? What had the Rochdale Pioneers in common with the pioneers of the new Trade Unionism?

Co-operation has not, unfortunately, so far fulfilled the expectations of its promoters, even in its common, or distributive, form, and still less in its exceptional, or productive, form. Probably it never will fulfil those anticipations. Even in Rochdale and Oldham, and other similar northern towns and districts where it is the strongest, it has not in any appreciable degree ousted the ordinary retail shopkeeper, who apparently does as well as he ever did, nor has it to any perceptible extent displaced the private capitalist and manufacturer. Its success has been mainly in the direction of shop-keeping, or distributing commodities produced by others; in the direction of producing commodities for itself it is as yet merely an experiment, and is in its infancy.

Nevertheless, there is no reason why we should not encourage it; it is good, and it does good, as far as it goes. It is, and must be, while it remains true to itself, antagonistic to Socialism, and will be an ally on the side of those who are fighting against Socialism, which alone is a sufficient reason for supporting it.

There is, however, grave reason to fear that co-operation has had its chance and its day; that it has allowed its great opportunity to pass by unimproved; and that it will not again, at all events for many years, be so favoured by wind and tide as it was up to a few years ago. Certainly it will never satisfy the classes who are represented by the Trade Union Congress and who support the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation. For these clamour for the nationalisation of both land and capital, for the collectivisation, in other words the confiscation and redistribution, of property of every kind. Co-operation is too rational and honest, too sober and slow, for people of this kind; they scout and condemn it as an old-fashioned and discredited method of social reform which has had its day. Social reformers and politicians, however, would act wisely if they gave more attention to co-operation, and refused to patronise or countenance chimerical and dishonest schemes of dealing with property.

It does not fall within the scope of this work to deal with the history of co-operation, or we might notice the extraordinary growth of the movement since it was founded by twenty-eight poor Rochdale weavers in 1844, and dilate upon its wonderful achievements during these fifty years. Nor can we stay to treat of that phase of the co-operative movement which has done so much for Germany, viz., the co-operative credit Bank founded by Schulze-Delitzsch, the deadly opponent of Lassalle, which, without any help from the State, wrought financial marvels. Our purpose is merely to glance at co-operation as one form of associated effort among working men, as one of the moral methods which lie ready to our hands for raising the working classes

in the scale of material and social comfort. Thus regarded we find in it nothing to condemn, but much to approve and commend. The spread of co-operation in either of its forms will be an almost unmixed benefit to society, for whilst it will do the workman much good, it is incapable of doing the capitalist and the trader any real harm. More is to be hoped, indeed, from productive than from distributive co-operation; for when working men in this way themselves become employers and manufacturers they will gain an experience which they could never obtain in any other way. They will then begin to understand and appreciate the difficulties and anxieties of the capitalist, and they will look upon the shortcomings and delinquencies of the workman from a new point of view. It is significant that co-operators have already had to revise and modify many of their former opinions upon these matters, and that they have been compelled to assume a position which brings them much nearer in spirit to the employers than to the Trade Unionists. No class of employers are more fiercely attacked in the Trade Union Congress than co-operators themselves; which merely goes to show that when working men become capitalists and manufacturers they have to do pretty much as private manufacturers and capitalists do. More discipline of this kind will exercise a very wholesome effect upon working men who are responsible shareholders in co-operative manufacturing concerns. Those who desire to preserve the freedom of industry and to conserve the security of capital, who are anxious to combat and thwart Socialism, have nothing to fear but everything to hope from co-operation. Wherefore let them in the name of humanity and progress right heartily wish it God-speed!

Of all that has been said in this chapter, the following is the substance. First: That Trade Unionism, in the form which it has assumed under the influence of Socialism, is wholly to be condemned as a danger to the community, and that it must either be reformed and regulated by the law, or suppressed. Secondly: That Conciliation and Arbitration,

so far as they can be promoted and applied voluntarily, are good and worthy to be encouraged : but that any element of compulsion in connection with them would render them repugnant instead of attractive, and nugatory instead of efficient. Thirdly: That profit sharing is not sound in theory, and has not proved itself to be successful in practice; that the facts concerning it do not warrant the conclusion that it can ever be generally adopted, or, that if it were so adopted, it could fulfil the anticipations and predictions of its advocates; and that, therefore, employers would be well-advised to have no part or lot in it. Fourthly: That co-operation, being based upon sound principles, and successful in practice so far as it has been applied, deserves every encouragement from those who respect the sanctity of private property, and who desire to promote the welfare of the people on the principle of self-help as opposed to State-help. Fifthly, and finally: The general contention of the writer is that any organisation, scheme, or device, which cripples the liberty of the individual, or filches from him his property, under whatever specious or philanthropic pretext, is an evil thing, towards which honest men can exhibit no friendliness or even tolerance.

The writer is convinced that his position is morally sound, even impregnable, and that the arguments by which he has supported it are irrefragable. Those arguments are before the world. If they can be refuted, by all means let it be done. The lists are open. Let the champions of Socialism and Trade Unionism come forth into the arena and defend, in a reasonable and intelligent manner, the principles which they urge upon the acceptance of the English people, and which they extol as the perfection of ethical and economical wisdom. Nobody will rejoice more than the writer if this challenge is accepted in good earnest. He has stated his case; let the opposition state theirs. The issue may then be left in all confidence to the arbitrament of the judgment and conscience of the British nation, and of the Christian and civilised world.

CHAPTER IV.

THE APPLICATION OF THE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES TO THE SOLUTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIMES.

THIS work will have been written to little purpose if the reader has not been already convinced of the impolicy and impracticability of dealing with economic questions by violent and arbitrary methods. We have treated successively of the legal and political solutions, of the revolutionary and socialistic solutions, and of the economical and moral solutions, which are proposed in turn to be applied to industrial problems. As to the legal and political remedies which are suggested, it has been shown that the region within which law can operate with efficiency and safety in regard to economical questions is a very limited one indeed, and that when law steps out of this narrow region and arbitrarily interferes with the hours of labour, with contracts, with accumulations, and with exchanges, the results are injurious and perilous to the best interests of society. It has been one of our leading aims to show to working men on the one hand that the less they trust in mere legislation the better for themselves; and to convince legislators on the other hand that, however much they desire to abolish social and economical evils by law, the task is wholly beyond their powers; and further, that by attempting the impossible they will at once demonstrate their own egregious folly and mock the miseries of the people whose hopes they raise only to disappoint them and sink them into deeper despair than ever.

How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which lords or kings can cause or cure,
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find.

As regards the revolutionary proposals and methods of Socialists, it has been shown that while a modicum of Socialistic sentiment may arise from a virtuous indignation against the wicked luxuries of the rich and from a true sympathy with the woes of the poor, nevertheless the spirit of Socialism, broadly considered, originates partly in a rancorous envy of the rich, simply because they are rich, and partly in an insane temper which is incapable of taking rational, or temperate, or practical views of social diseases and of the possibilities of remedying them. Socialism has been shown to be a mere fantasy of the disordered imaginations of dreamers of dreams. It has been pointed out that Socialism has never yet been really put to the proof, inasmuch as the world has never seen a purely Socialistic nation, and that, consequently, Socialism is nothing more than a theory; whilst the fact has been emphasised that, in so far as we have any experience at all of Socialism, that experience is fraught with warning, and teaches us to shun a spirit and a system which have produced such disastrous effects wherever they have for a moment gained the upper hand.

In the fourth and last section of the work the aim has been to show that industrial problems can be solved, and industrial evils removed, by seeking and applying remedies which are in harmony with economical and moral laws. It has been shown that the improvement effected in the past has pursued these lines, and it has been indicated that the men of this generation can use their wisdom in no better way than by following in the footsteps of the wisest and best men of previous generations. In treating of this branch of the subject we have endeavoured to vindicate Political Economy against the unintelligent and unjust attacks which are made upon it, and to demonstrate that it is within its own sphere as unerring in its conclusions as any other science. We have shown that the older political economists have not been, and are not likely to be, superseded by economists of the newer school; that, on the contrary, the

new political economy is, in the main, and so far as it is worthy of credence and acceptance, nothing more nor less than a reproduction of the old economy. Another leading purpose of this latter section has been to show that whilst combinations, both of workmen and capitalists, are legitimate enough so long as they aim at ends which are legally and morally lawful, and may within certain limits be beneficial, yet, in the last resort, the individual man must himself decide his own fate and fortune. It now simply remains to show, in a little more detail, that it is only by the practice of the Christian virtues that the evils of which we have treated, like all other evils, can be removed.

It was remarked in the last chapter, and it may here be repeated, that the simple carrying out of the Golden Rule by every man in his relations with his neighbour would, of itself, settle all our industrial disputes and sweep away all our social evils. If, to-morrow, every man in England would begin really to act upon the principle of doing unto others as he would have others do to him, all the wrongs, both of the individual and of the community, would vanish as if by magic. This, however, is a truism. It is also an ideal, and an ideal which we are not likely to see realised for many a long age to come. It may be well, therefore, to indicate a little more in detail what Christian virtues we have in our mind, when we say that the application of such virtues would solve our industrial problems.

First, then, we say that the Christian virtue most conspicuously absent from our discussions and proposals of social reform, and, yet, most imperatively needed in these proposals and discussions, is the *spirit of justice*. Christians, above all others, should be distinguished for their love of justice and for their justness in their dealings with all men. "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ stand aloof from injustice" is an apostolic injunction which never needed to be practised more than it does now. Justice is the foundation of civilised order. It is the cement which binds together the members of a civilised community.

Confidence in the justice of the laws, in the justice of those who administer them, in the justice of the men with whom we do business or with whom we enter into social relationships, is absolutely essential to intercourse being carried on. Bishop Latimer, in his sermon on "Our Daily Bread," with a profound prescience, places social justice foremost among the material needs of man. He says: "Now the first and principal thing that we have need of in this life is the magistrate; without a magistrate we should never live well and quietly. Then it is necessary and most needful to pray unto God for them, that the people may have rest, and apply their business, every man to his calling; the husbandman in tilling and ploughing, the artificer in his business. . . . Therefore, in this petition we pray unto God for our magistrates, that they may rule and govern this realm well and godly; and keep us from invasions of alienates and strangers; and to execute justice and punish malefactors. And this is so requisite that we cannot live without it. Therefore, when we say, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' we pray for the king, his counsellors, and all his officers. . . . And when I pray for them, I pray for myself; for I pray for them that they may rule so that I and all men may live quietly, and at rest. And to this end we desire a quiet life, that we may the better serve God, hear His word, and live after it. . . . Therefore, to pray for a quiet life, that is as much as to pray for a godly life, that we may serve God in our calling, and get our living uprightly. So it appeareth, that praying for magistrates is as much as to pray for ourselves."

In these days there is a spirit of injustice abroad, but it is so disguised in its character, and so subtle in its operations, that it is frequently either not perceived at all or is taken to be something altogether different from what it really is. Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, and in this guise he succeeds in gaining the co-operation—almost the affection—of men who, if they could penetrate his disguise, would spend their last breath in opposing him, and in

destroying all his works. Thousands of excellent Christian men and women who would be incapable of a petty theft would nevertheless think it a virtuous action to assist in passing a law which would take from the rich what absolutely belongs to them and give it to the poor who have no right to it; just as thousands of such people thought it a righteous deed to take money out of the pockets of widows and orphans who hold shares in the London docks in order to pay to dock labourers higher wages than they were entitled to. There are no more dangerous foes to society than those who call good evil, and evil good, and who, in consequence of this perversion of the moral sense, are striving to do evil to the community under the pretence that it is good. That many of these people are sincere in their beliefs does not make them in any degree less harmful. A man who does wrong sincerely does more and greater wrong than a wrong-doer who is insincere. The class of people against whom we most need to be on our guard in these times is that class which has justice in its mouth and injustice in its right hand.*

This spirit of injustice is manifesting itself in two main directions. In the political sphere it is striving to induce

* Mr. Tom Mann, lecturing at St. Thomas's Square Chapel, Hackney, on October 8th. 1893, on "The Religious Hypocrisy of the Churches," said that there was more hypocrisy heaped up in the orthodox churches and chapels of London than in all the rest of the world, and added: "The churches were irreligious, and their teaching was bad. Evil existed everywhere where there should be good, and the churches, like the Levite, passed it by. They taught 'self,' and 'self' was the cancer which was eating out the very vitals of the Empire. That same cancer permeated the political and social as well as the religious system of the country, and against self the whole power of the churches should be arrayed." Surely there never was a more maladroit utterance, seeing that Mr. Mann is a fanatical advocate of Trade Unionism, which is a system of unmitigated selfishness.

working men to coalesce for the primary purpose of benefiting themselves, and of benefiting themselves by injuring the classes above them. It is teaching working men that the noblest use they can make of their political power is to selfishly employ it as an instrument for their own material advancement; in other words, as an instrument for possessing themselves of that which they have not earned, to which they are not entitled, which belongs to somebody else, and can only be made to belong to them by political brigandage and legislative violence.

Thousands of men are engaged in this country to-day in teaching working men, both through the Press and from the platform, that political right is moral right; that Acts of Parliament supersede both the Decalogue and the teachings of Jesus Christ; and that their supreme aim should be so to use their political power as to gain for themselves shorter hours of labour, higher wages, better dwellings, pensions in their old age, and such like things; and that if they can only elect legislators enough to be the instruments of carrying out this selfish policy, and thereby get it carried out, they will do well, whatever consequences may follow to other classes of the community, or to the nation in general. These advanced modern Christians teach that, although the individual man may not steal, a Parliament may steal, and that the precepts of the New Testament, whatever application they may have to individuals, have no binding force upon Parliament. Legislatures are above all laws, divine or human. As for the individual elector, who votes for the stealing being done by Parliament, he shelters himself under the subterfuge that at all events it is not he who commits the robbery. And so we have all kinds of proposals that Parliament should take the land of one class, the capital of another class, and even the brains and the bodies of a third class, and do with them whatsoever it wills, without any regard at all to the wishes, the liberties, or even the rights of the people who possess these things.

In the economical sphere this spirit of injustice is showing itself in similar forms. What an individual workman would be ashamed to demand from his employer, because he knows that he has not earned it and does not deserve it, 500 or 1,000 men will ask with the most unblushing impudence. The injustice of coercing an employer into paying them more wages than their labour is worth never seems to enter into their heads. Similarly, an individual workman would think it unbecoming to go to his employer and attempt to dictate to him the conditions upon which his capital should be used and his business conducted: but a combination of men will thus dictate to the employer, and think that they are doing a most righteous act. That the capital invested in the business belongs to the employer, and that all the risks and losses of the business must be borne by him, never seem to enter their thoughts. The demand that the hours of labour should be shortened, whilst the wages remain the same, is clearly an unjust demand, simply because it would be taking so much money out of the pockets of the employer for which no equivalent would be rendered. The demand that an employer should dismiss non-unionist workmen is a more unjust demand still, for it infringes at once the rights and liberties both of the employer and of the free workman. An employer has the right to buy labour in whatsoever market he pleases, and a workman has the right to sell his labour in the best market he can find, and upon conditions which approve themselves to his own judgment. Nothing could be more unjust or more preposterous than that a body of workmen, because they work in a certain trade or at a certain factory, should arrogate to themselves the authority to declare who shall and who shall not work in the said trade or factory. These workmen are merely contractors who have sold their labour to the employer on certain contract terms; when the employer fulfils his part of the contract, as he does by paying the weekly wages due to the workmen, these workmen have no further rights in or claims upon the concern;

they have received what they are entitled to, and all that they are entitled to, by the terms of the contract, namely, their full share of the profit of production, and they have no claim, legal, equitable, or moral, to anything beyond this. Yet they are perpetually making claims to something beyond it. Indeed, some of them do not scruple to claim that the whole capital and business of the employer belongs of right to them. All such claims are monstrously unjust.

Of course, the injustice is not always upon the workman's side. There are unjust employers as well as unjust workmen, and the obligation to be strictly just in all dealings is as binding upon the employer as it is upon the employed. Nevertheless, it is strictly true to say that injustice is much more frequently manifested by workmen than it is by masters. Not perhaps because masters are naturally more inclined to be upright than workmen, but rather because masters, by reason of their fewness, have not the same opportunity of carrying out their wishes as workmen have. The numerical superiority of the workmen and their power of combination—especially if it is unscrupulously used—give them immense advantages over the employer class in these days of Household Suffrage. Moreover, an employer is practically bound to pay a workman fair and just wages, that is to say the market value of the workman's labour, simply because if one employer did not do this another would. The workman has a free market for his labour, and where he has such a market no employer can take much advantage of him for long. Over and above all this, however, English employers as a class are honourably distinguished by their uprightness, their considerate treatment of those whom they employ, and not infrequently by their generosity.*

* The Pope, in an address which he delivered to 20,000 French pilgrims in September, 1891, declared that a solution of the labour question would never be found in purely civil laws, but was "bound up in the precepts of

The second of the Christian virtues which are eminently needed in our times in connection with industrial problems is *broad and intelligent sympathy*. Not sympathy merely; for there is a sympathy which is blind and narrow. Such sympathy was displayed by the public, or by a section or sections of the public, during the Dock strike, and during every great strike sympathy of this kind is sure to be manifested by the same class of people. They had abundant sympathy with the dock labourers, but none at all with the dock directors or the dock shareholders. Yet these latter were deserving of sympathy too—perhaps even more deserving of it than the labourers. For the latter, when the worst came to the worst, always had public charity to fall back upon (and in the East-end of London the streams of charity are as unceasing as they are demoralising); whereas the poor orphans and widows, whose all was invested in the docks, might starve to death in secret, and nobody care one jot about them. Sympathy which is uninformed and contracted may do much more harm than good, and it probably will do so. It did so in the case of the Dock strike, as we have clearly demonstrated, and it did so in connection with the other great strikes which have followed upon the Dock strike during the last two

perfect justice, which demands that the rate of wages shall adequately correspond with the labour done. The secret of the whole social problem must be sought in the action of the Church; combined with the resources and efforts of the public powers and of human wisdom. Take advantage of the freedom and rest which your masters leave you to fulfil your religious duties. In your work be diligent and docile. Avoid perverse men, especially when they come, under the name of Socialists, to overthrow social order to your detriment. Form associations in which you will find, as in a second family, an honest joy, a light in your difficulties, strength in conflict, and maintenance in the infirmities of old age. Give your children a moral Christian education, and secure to them, by wise thrift, a tranquil future."

years. What is needed is an all-round sympathy. Employers should sympathise with workmen; workmen should sympathise with employers; those who are neither workmen nor employers should sympathise with both classes, but not with either one to the exclusion of the other.

Sympathy of this all-embracing nature would find abundant methods of expressing itself. The employer who sympathises with his workpeople might (as many employers have done) provide for them reading rooms, libraries, baths, music, and other recreations, and also show a paternal interest in their welfare, especially when they were in sickness or trouble. The fact is an employer might in some respects be a father to his workpeople. Workmen, on the other hand, might show their sympathy with their employer. If they knew him to be in difficulties, they might refuse to take their wages for a week, and thus help him to tide over the emergency; or when trade was depressed, and the employer was perhaps working the business at a loss, they might voluntarily agree to a reduction in wages. There is not a workshop or a manufactory in the land where the workmen, if they truly sympathised with their employer and desired to assist him, might not save him a large amount of money every year. As for the general public, they should judge both employers and employed impartially, awarding praise to that party which deserves it and blame to the other party, always bearing in mind that their duty is not only to be sympathetic, but to be just as well.

It is notorious that the relations now existing between employers and employed are, in the main, based rather upon antipathy than upon sympathy. The two classes are to a great extent hostile the one towards the other. For this unfortunate condition of affairs workmen must be held mainly responsible. They have during the last quarter of a century, and particularly during the last four or five years, developed a temper which clearly indicates that they

mean to get the upper hand if possible. Labour is no longer content to work with capital on equal terms; it desires supreme dominion. Capital cannot, of course, consent to stultify or efface itself, and consequently it is compelled to fight for its own possessions and rights. Hence the state of industrial war in which we now find ourselves in this country. This state of war, as was shown in the last chapter, necessarily tends to destroy what little sympathy between employers and employed has been left to us, and to blunt and harden the finer features of both parties. Human nature is human nature, and it will remain so in spite of all the impracticable dreams of Socialistic representations of society. And, while human nature remains what it is, it is impossible for employers to sympathise with those who, instead of sympathising and co-operating with them, manifest a malicious pleasure in thwarting their purposes and injuring their interests. He who would have friends must show himself friendly. If working men wish their employers to be friends to them they must show that they are the friends of their employers. If they act as the enemies of their employers, as too many of them are now disposed to do, they must not be surprised if they find these employers acting as enemies towards them. Sympathy between the two classes would do more to prevent friction and dispute, and promote the peace and prosperity of both classes alike, than all the legislative enactments or all the Boards of Conciliation in the world.

As examples of uninformed and ill-advised, and therefore harmful, sympathy, we now take, firstly, the action of certain Congregational ministers in relation to the Hull Dock strike and the Coal strike; secondly, the action of certain gentlemen in relation to "The Christian Organization of Industry;" and, thirdly, the action of certain Bishops who have intervened in trade disputes.

Dealing with the latter first, it must be remarked as a most significant fact that, although Bishops have interfered in several strikes of late, not one of them has by any chance

taken the part of the employers. This can hardly be the result of accident. Nor is it probable that the men can be so entirely in the right and the masters so wholly in the wrong, and this on every occasion, as to warrant Bishops or anybody else in throwing all their influence into the scale against the employers. Why, then, do they do this? They, of all men, ought to be serene and impartial, uninfluenced by the gusts of political passion which drive smaller men hither and thither, above the contemptible artifices of those who seek popularity by flattering the multitude. Whatever may be their motives, however (and no doubt these are wholly excellent), the effect of their action is not good. For it is obvious, in the first place, that if strikers are always to get what they ask for they will be encouraged to strike again, and in the second, that the employers will soon come to suspect, and reasonably suspect, men who always take sides against them. The Bishop of Southwell, whose diocese suffered much from the coal strike, and who was evidently sorely distraught in consequence, wrote to *The Times* on November 13, 1893, urging the coal-owners to give the miners all they were asking for, and endeavoured to assure them that such action on their part would not be regarded as a victory by the miners. Next day a correspondent of *The Times* dealt with the matter in this trenchant fashion: "A Bishop is to be 'no striker.' How is it that they never interfere now except to help strikers to a victory? The Bishop of Southwell has surpassed his predecessors, too, by assuring us that it will not be regarded as a victory for the miners if the coal-owners concede just what the strikers are demanding, viz., that the owners shall go on working at a loss, which the men dare not face inquiry about, till February, and then resume the fight. Nobody now doubts the mischief that a couple of Bishops, Protestant and Popish, did in the London Dock strike, or the good that Mr. Livesey did by fighting his own battle out against the gas strikers. And though it was the fashion at the time to praise the Bishop of Durham for persuading the Durham

coal-owners to yield to the strikers, nobody can deny that every such interference only tends to encourage strikes, which now always mean tyranny and violence against both owners and non-strikers. Even in France that seems to have been stopped in the only possible way, and the strike ended. . . . There is certainly one trade which had better go abroad and not come back again—that of the volunteer conciliator, who, whether he acts from vanity or sentiment, never does any real good. If the miners, and their wives who back them, choose to starve their children first and themselves afterwards in the hope of ruining other people, the laws of nature have provided the only remedy, which all the Bishops and ‘religious men’ and oratorical women in the kingdom cannot prevail against in the long run, but will only aggravate by their action.”

It is wholly desirable that Bishops, and all other Christian ministers, should, in their capacity as teachers of the Gospel of Christ, expound and enforce those great Christian principles which ought to govern all human relationships, and by the practice of which alone men can live in peace and goodwill; and it is well that they should take advantage of times and seasons, such as trade disputes, to emphasise lessons which under ordinary circumstances are allowed to fall into the background. No objection can be taken to the most energetic action on their part if it be confined within its legitimate sphere. And let them be assured that they will exert far more influence upon both masters and workmen if they show themselves to be true friends of both than they will as partisans of either. The Bishop of Manchester, preaching in his Cathedral on September 27th, 1891, spoke as follows:—

“To the politician he said, ‘Care more for truth and righteousness and less for popular opinion.’ He believed that the worship of what was called public opinion was one of the most slavish idolatries of our own day. ‘What do the people think? That must be true. What do the people want? That they must have: for who is wise or strong

enough to keep it from them?' He would say to those who were prone to speak thus, and to think thus, 'Remember that the millions to whom you speak consist of units, and not always of the wisest and most righteous units. Surely many of them—aye, the majority of them—may make mistakes as to what is even for the universal good. Therefore their opinion may be untrue, and the course of action arising from that opinion unjust.' If the multitude asked the politician to take up an opinion which, tested by Christ's standard, he had seen to be false, or to do an action which by that test he had proved to be unjust, let him set his face like a flint against the multitude, and cry with the prophet of old, 'Let God be true and every man a liar.' In conclusion, he would say a word to those employers and those labourers who were finding the chief object of their life in that money about which they were quarrelling. He was not the best and happiest capitalist who enrolled himself among merchant princes. He was not necessarily the best workman who extorted the highest wages. He was happiest in either capacity, greatest in the sight of heaven, happiest in the conversation of earth, who loved his brother as himself, and sought rather to be kind and just than to be admired and prosperous." That is a model of what Episcopal utterances should be. Only good can result from such admirably simple and forcible Christian and common-sense teaching. Let Bishops and ministers remember that they are preachers, not arbitrators; let them do the preaching, and leave the arbitrating to others; theirs is the nobler work, and the highest ambition may well be content with it. And in their preaching let them follow the example of Christ, who though He loved the multitudes never flattered them, but acted upon the great principle that the way to save men is to teach them stern realities. The Pope has said in his Encyclical that "it is essential in these times of covetous greed to keep the multitude within the lines of duty." That is a maxim which both Christian ministers and constitutional politicians would do well to act upon in these democratic times.

Now, secondly, a word or two upon the conduct of those who wish to promote "the Christian Organisation of Industry." Surely the first essential of a Christian movement is that it should have a Christian basis; a Christian basis must be a just basis; and a just basis must have due regard to the interests of all parties. Moreover, it must be practicable, capable of being put into practice without injury to anyone, and consonant with reason and common-sense; otherwise it is absurd; and that which is absurd is not accordant with the Christian religion. How far these conditions are fulfilled by the movement for the Christian organisation of industry may be judged from the resolutions which were passed at the conference held upon that question in November, 1893, and from the speeches by which they were supported. The resolutions were these:

"That the Christian organization of industry involves the maintenance of a living wage, by which this conference understands such a wage as shall enable the workers to maintain healthy and human homes."

"That the maintenance and improvement of this standard is, in fact, to the interest of the whole community, as it tends to produce in the end the best efficiency."

"That the distribution of wealth between all the interests concerned in production, as well as the settlement of other industrial disputes, should be promoted by the formation of permanent boards of conciliation in each trade, on which labour and capital should be assisted by independent members representing the best conscience of the community, with provision for a final appeal."

The speakers were Mr. G. W. E. Russell, M.P., Canon Scott-Holland, Professor Cunningham, Revs. Price Hughes, Fleming Williams, C. Gore, and others. Mr. Russell said "It was not their business to fight over political economy, but to assert that the moment the dismal science came into conflict with Christian morality they had to stand by Christian morality," and then he proceeded to define the living wage as follows: "It was a wage which enabled a

worker (1) to maintain a home where decent, moral, and healthy life was possible; (2) to supply himself and those dependent on him with the primary necessities of life—food, fuel, and clothing; and (3) leisure time enough to cultivate the spiritual, moral, and intellectual parts of his nature." Professor Cunningham, speaking as an economist, asserted that there was nothing in the science of Political Economy which forbade a living wage; while Canon Scott-Holland declared that it was possible both to handle the market and to obtain power to govern it. Bald assertion, however, was the only resource of these gentlemen; of argument there was not a shred.* After reading the report of this conference one is not surprised that the original meeting, held in the Jerusalem Chamber, should have been a *fiasco*; or that the Dean of Westminster should have refused to allow a resolution to be put in favour of the claim of labour to a living wage; or that such clear-headed men as the Bishop of Ripon, who had been drawn into the movement under false pretences, should have washed their hands of it as soon as they discovered its true

* The Bishop of Southwell put these pertinent and forcible questions to the promoters of the conference: "How is the 'living wage' defined? Is it, that somebody unknown is to settle for somebody else (or is it for everybody else?) some scale of living as proper, and then fix in some relation to that some scale of wages or stipends to be paid by some unknown person out of some unknown source for some unknown time or some unknown compulsion for doing some unknown work? On which of these unknown quantities have the conveners any basis for defining 'a living wage' as a general principle?" And a correspondent of the *Times* asked: "Are they going to discover what is a living wage, or how their conclusion, if they arrive at one, is to be forced down the throats of either the payers or the receivers? And what is their nostrum for keeping any trade going at a loss, or for preventing foreigners supplying, as they are more and more, what English workmen refuse to do except on their own terms?" But of course they got no answer.

character. If the contention of the "living wage" advocates means anything at all it means nothing less than the abolition of Free Trade, the Protection of "Labour," and its exaltation into a monopoly. Why Trade Unionists should aim at these objects is obvious enough; but it is not apparent why Christian ministers should advocate them. To talk of the "Christian" organisation of industry where Trade Unionism is concerned is, as the Rev. Hensley Henson pointed out at this meeting, an abuse of the term "Christian." Professor Cunningham maintained that with a *minimum* wage there would be no starvation *for such workmen as could obtain work*. But what about those who were thrown out of work by it? Mr. Fleming Williams stated that a *minimum* wage had been fixed among the boot-makers of Northampton "with beneficent results," among these results, it appears, being the throwing out of "incompetent" workmen. Any workman is branded by a Trade Union as incompetent if he is merely superfluous—if he cannot be admitted into the Union without overstocking the market. Mr. Williams was asked if there were any "unemployed" at Northampton, and he replied that there were many, "but he did not consider them fit to earn good wages." Workmen of this class, non-unionists largely, are apparently unworthy of the consideration of Christians of the type represented by the speakers at this conference; their sympathy is confined to Trade Unionists. "‘Behind the cross stands the devil,’ says the Spaniard. Behind the Christian organisation of labour stands the Trade Union, burning to repeat its Australian achievements. We quite understand why it uses the Christian organisation as a stalking horse. Why the organisation chooses to be so used we could explain if it were worth while. Perhaps it thinks that the success of these principles will afford greater scope for the exercise of charity by increasing the number of ‘incompetent,’ who will be very fit objects for the exercise of that virtue."*

**Saturday Review*, Dec. 2, 1893.

Men who meet to advocate Trade Unionism under the pretence that it is "Christian" will never do anything but harm to the cause of Christianity. They may be congratulated, as they were in this instance, upon their "eagerness to ally themselves (and their churches) with the Labour programme,"* but they will cause every true disciple of Christ to groan with pain on account of the indignity and shame which are thus put upon the religion of his Lord and Master.

In connection with the action of an aggressive section of the Congregationalists with regard to trade disputes, it may be remarked that it is but too typical of the action of Nonconformists generally, and upon that point a sentence or two may be appropriately cited from the first volume of this work: "The Nonconformist Ministers seem to be "doing their best to estrange employers of labour and "capitalists from their churches. Should they succeed in "doing this, as seems very likely, they will simply cut the "ground from under their own feet, and they will find that "the support of 'the masses'—whose tastes do not lie "exactly in the direction of religion, for only two per cent. "of working men in London attend church or chapel—is a "very poor substitute for the generosity and the exertions "of the well-to-do classes, who have made their churches "what they are."†

These words, which were used by the author when reviewing certain utterances of prominent Nonconformist Ministers in relation to the Dock strike in London, were designed, not to suggest that ministers should truckle to the wealthy members of their churches in the spirit of expediency, but to indicate that some ministers have assumed an attitude of rancorous and irrational hostility towards capitalists as a class, and that such action will inevitably result in the withdrawal of capitalists from

* *The Sun*, November 30, 1893.

† Vol. I. Page 57.

churches whose ministers are actuated by such a spirit. It is, unfortunately, notorious that several gentlemen who might be named have distinguished (or discredited) themselves by ferocious and fanatical onslaughts upon employers, and by fulsome and foolish flattery of strikers and Trades Unions. Evidently the creed of these men runs thus: "Capitalists, by the very necessity of their nature and position, are selfish and inhuman; in them dwells no good thing; from them can proceed no wise or disinterested conduct; their action in any trade dispute must be dictated by sordid greed. Working men, on the other hand, even the lowest of them (always provided that they are members of Trades Unions and pay their fees to support professional agitators), are the salt of the earth and the light of the world; exemplars of all the virtues; men so prudent and rational, so intelligent and moral, that they can commit no folly or wrong, at all events in a conflict with their masters." If this be not the creed of the ministers named, and their like, they have certainly done themselves a grave injustice in their public utterances.* Speaking broadly, it may be said that no considerable strike occurs now-a-days without certain impulsive and sentimental ministers illustrating afresh the familiar truth that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

In connection with the Hull Dock strike it was the Rev. John Matthews, of Barnet, who distinguished himself by a reckless advocacy of the workmen's cause, or rather of what

* Some of these utterances are quoted in Vol. I. It may, however, be noted in this place that Dr. Clifford, speaking before the Baptist Union at Bloomsbury Chapel, on April 27th, 1893, "expressed his strong sympathy with the movement of Trade Unionism at Hull," and added: "The action of the Shipping Federation in compelling men to take a ticket in order to get employment (which, by the bye, the Shipping Federation never did) was penalising Trade Unionism, and he would be ready to part with his best treasure rather than the movement should collapse."

he imagined to be such. This gentleman is unknown to fame, but it is probable that he is a very fair representative of the average Nonconformist Minister. At the meeting of the Congregational Union in May, 1893, Mr. Matthews introduced a resolution on the Hull strike, the terms of which were the following:—

“That this assembly is deeply impressed with the evils
“arising out of the protracted conflict at Hull; regards
“with dismay the widespread misery which must be its
“consequence; expresses its sincere sympathy with the
“sufferers, and fervently hopes that all parties concerned
“in this unhappy dispute will agree to submit the case to
“arbitration.”

Of this resolution it may be said that its terms are artfully drawn up in order to conceal its real purpose. It seems so innocent a thing to say that you “express sincere sympathy” with certain sufferers; that you are “deeply impressed” by certain evils; and that you “regard with dismay” certain other evils which are sure to arise out of them. But of course this resolution was really submitted in the interests of the strikers, who were the only “sufferers” contemplated by it, and it sought to dictate to the employers by using the moral influence of the Congregational Union to coerce them into arbitration. To impartial men the whole proceeding was unspeakably silly, a piece of grandmotherly meddlesomeness, an attempt at molly-coddling which was as ridiculous as it was superfluous. Cannot the Hull shipowners and dock labourers manage their affairs without the interference of the Congregational Union? And can the members of this Union suppose that the country is consumed with anxiety to learn what emotions have been created within their breasts by their contemplations of the evils of a strike? The public would think much better of these gentlemen if they would devote their whole attention to the spiritual interests of their churches, which are now suffering very seriously, instead of resorting to the base arts of the agitator and demagogue in

order to gain a little fleeting popularity with the unthinking multitude.

Mr. Matthews supported his resolution in a speech which was not very creditable to his intelligence. From a Christian minister, speaking before a Christian assembly, if anywhere on earth, truth and justice, sobriety and charity, should be looked for. But this speech was nothing more nor less than a violent tirade against the Shipping Federation, too obviously dictated by prejudice. Mr. Matthews asserted, somewhat needlessly, that "his sympathies were with the unionist dockers" (not "dockers," mark, but "*unionist* dockers" merely). He then proceeded to ask why the strike did not cease. This is his answer: "Because the Shipping Federation wanted to impose their own terms;* they wanted to impose upon free labourers a particular ticket compelling them not to be union men; and, on the other hand, they sought to fetter the unionists with conditions and restrictions which would prevent them from conscientiously being members of the union." Mr. Matthews condemned the Shipping Federation for rejecting all offers of arbitration, and stated that "as Congregationalists they were, he thought, bound to support the men." It is a pity that Mr. Matthews did not adduce any reasons in support of the extraordinary proposition that Congregationalists, in virtue of their being such, are bound to support one side in a trade dispute rather than the other, without any regard to the moral conduct of the contending parties or to the ethical principles which underlie their contention. Next time the Rev. John Matthews speaks upon these subjects it might be well for him to tell us what he and his brethren are "bound" to do, not as Congregationalists, but as Christians; for it is conceivable that

* QUERY.—Did not the dockers, on the other side, want to impose "their own terms" too? Their action is assumed to be necessarily right; the action of the ship-owners necessarily wrong.

merely as Congregationalists they may bow the knee to the god Expediency, and do that which they think may for the moment promote the interests of their sect, whereas their first duty as *Christians* is to observe and fulfil the teaching of Christ.

It is quite clear, however, that Mr. Matthews does not truly represent even Congregationalism on this subject. For one member of the Congregational Union after another rose to repudiate the sentiments and opinions of Mr. Matthews, and during the debate the rational and Christian view of the matter was ably developed and supported by speakers who introduced the element which Mr. Matthews had evidently overlooked—the element of justice. The resolution could not be carried until it had been amended by the insertion of the words “on both sides” after the word “sufferers,” and this amendment rendered it worthless and nugatory in the eyes of Mr. Matthews and his supporters. The general question of “Trade Unions and Free Labour” was referred to the Social Questions Committee, whose report thereon will be awaited with interest.*

* A Congregational minister, writing to the *British Weekly* of May 18th, 1893, said that Mr. Matthews' resolution “had been so manipulated by the Reference Committee that it had lost its force and meaning.” He continued: “When two countries are at war, is it a friendly action on the part of a neighbouring Power to send a vote of sympathy to both sides? Yet that was what was done with the Labour war at Hull. Such dilly-dallying with serious matters, affecting the well-being of thousands, is worse than indifference, and if we cannot make up our minds on which side to throw our sympathy, it would be far better to let well alone. The Union has burnt its fingers once, and it seems to have lost all nerve in consequence. But we mistake the working man if we think he can be taken in by such palpable expedients as were resorted to last week to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. If we cannot side with him, we had better leave him to fight his own battle. We are evidently in need of a firm hand to guide

In connection with the Coal strike of 1893 the Congregational Union passed the following resolution on October 13, 1893: "That this Assembly observes with deep anxiety the unsettled condition of questions affecting the relation of capital and labour, and especially laments the widespread distress falling very largely upon persons entirely unconnected with the matters in dispute, and desires to bear testimony to the ethical principle that the rights of humanity must always take precedence of those of property. It declares that mining royalties and profits made out of the labours of men receiving wages inadequate for the support of themselves and their families are obviously inconsistent with righteousness and fraternity, and it recommends the settlement of trade disputes by impartial tribunals." This resolution was moved by the Rev. Dr. R. F. Horton, of Hampstead, a gentleman who has a great reputation both for learning and for saintliness, and who on this occasion affirmed the time to be approaching when it would be generally felt that the laws of political economy were not to be ranked with the laws of nature, with the laws of morality, or still less with the laws of God.

In its original form the resolution read thus after the words "matters in dispute": "while not presuming to pass an opinion on subjects which need for their proper consideration a technical knowledge," the assembly "earnestly pleaded with all concerned for the exercise of mutual forbearance, and the desire to do what was right between man and man." On the motion of the Rev. Fleming Williams these words were struck out, and those as to "the rights of humanity," etc., were substituted. Mr. O'Neill, a City merchant, urged the Assembly not to pass the resolution, stating that he knew many of those who owned mines were Christian gentlemen, whereat there were loud cries of "No, no," from the model

our policy in this and other matters." The last sentence is true, painfully and obviously true, true in a sense not imagined by the writer.

Christian ministers present. The resolution as "amended" was passed almost unanimously, amid laughter and much cheering, Mr. Horton declaring that "it only more felicitously expressed his views than his own resolution did." It need only be added that Mr. Fleming Williams expressed his agreement with Mr. Horton "about the necessity of substituting the premisses of Christ for the premisses of political economy as the determining factors in our social evolution."

Let it be understood that we in no wise impugn the motives of the men whose conduct we have criticised. Their motives are no doubt excellent enough; it is their judgment which is at fault. Their action was ill-advised and inconsiderate, lacking calmness and restraint; it was the action of partisans and not of impartial outsiders. Nor does our criticism apply to them in their individual and private capacity as citizens, of which we have no right to take cognisance; it applies to them in their public capacity as preachers of Christ's Gospel, and in that capacity we have the right to require of them that they act in harmony with the principles of the New Testament, which, most emphatically, they have not done.

The third of the Christian virtues which may be mentioned (and the last which can be mentioned here) as essential to a wise solution of economical problems is *forbearance*. This is a quality which must be manifested by one man towards another, or by one class towards another, when they have very much to do with each other, if they are to get along well together. All human beings are frail and faulty. The most perfect of them need at times to be borne with by reason of their passions, or infirmities, or wickedness. To expect absolute perfection in human beings, to expect that we shall never be called upon to exercise towards them lenient and generous judgments, is obviously unreasonable. Even where people are joined together by a true love, as in the married state, the need for mutual forbearance still exists. They need to bear and forbear. An old minister expressed this truth very quaintly, but

forcibly, when he advised a newly-married pair to keep two bears in the house—"bear and forbear." In like manner we may say that these two bears ought to be kept in every factory and business establishment. Much more is this the case where the relations of the persons concerned are based upon mere business relationships or distant sympathies. In order to the exercise of this forbearance some mutual knowledge and mutual regard are necessary. A certain degree of mutual knowledge is implied in the relation of employer and employed; an employer usually knows something of his workmen, and a workman knows something of his master. Whether they have a mutual regard for each other, however, depends upon the character of each, or at all events on the estimate which they have formed of each other's character. If the employer would take into consideration the fact that the workman is not cultured, that he suffers from limitation of view, that he has strong class prejudices and antipathies, and that at times the monotony of his work and his life begets a sense of weariness and despair, he would be much more ready to sympathise and bear with the workman, even when the latter is in the wrong, than he would otherwise be. On the other hand, if the workman would reflect upon the fact that the employer has his own peculiar anxieties and worries, that he has serious risks to run, and large interests at stake, and that in these days of severe competition he needs to have all his wits about him, and to work hard with his brain, he would not be surprised that the employer should sometimes be irritable, and perhaps unreasonable. He would be tolerant of the faults of the employer.

It is obvious that if masters and men were actuated by a desire to deal justly with each other, that if they cherished towards one another a spirit of sympathy, that if they had the disposition to patiently bear with each other's infirmities, disputes between them could never arise. Unfriendliness would be nipped in the bud. Differences would be composed before they could develop into disputes. As for

strikes, with their bitterness and violence, they would become impossible. This Christian temper is the only true and infallible remedy for social ills ; this alone searches and probes to the seat and root of the disease, and by its beneficent energy expels it. All other so-called remedies are but palliatives at the best ; for they are mechanical and external, utterly destitute of power to change the motives or to eradicate the selfish propensities of man. Acts of Parliament, Boards, Councils, Associations, etc., however necessary and effective they may be within their proper sphere, are clumsy expedients which touch only the outer man ; whereas the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ is a spiritual energy which affects the heart, changes the affections and dispositions, renews the nature, of the individual. This is the grand characteristic of Christianity viewed as an engine of social reform ; this also is the cardinal and fundamental difference between Christianity and Socialism. The sum of all wisdom upon this matter is this : " Change the man, and you change all ; mend the individual, and you mend all." That was Christ's method, and it has never been improved upon. Centuries of experience prove it to have been transcendantly wise and transcendantly powerful. But how is the man to be changed ? Not by Acts of Parliament, nor by Congresses or Unions, but by the love and grace of God manifested in His Son, Jesus Christ. Therefore let all who labour for the social welfare, all who wish to promote the true well-being of the people, be assured that the most perfect method of social regeneration is the preaching and the practice of the Gospel ; and the Gospel as Christ and His Apostles taught it, as the means of saving and perfecting the individual man, not some new-fangled travesty of it dubbed " Social Christianity." The New Testament knows no " Social Christianity ;" it knows only individual Christianity, *i.e.*, Christianity preached by the individual man to the individual man, received by the individual, translated into conduct by the individual, influencing and moulding society through the individual. This is the chief

need of our age, as of all ages. We do not want churches as such to take part in social reform after an organised and political fashion; we want individual Christians to labour in a spirit of self-sacrifice for the salvation, moral and physical, of individuals who are not Christians. Dr. R. W. Dale puts this point effectively in his Introduction to the Proceedings of the International Congregational Council. After expressing the opinion that the question raised as to the relation of the Church to social movements was not satisfactorily solved by the Council, and remarking that it is a question on which people want guidance, he adds that he should like to know "what is meant when it is said that the Church should assume a new position in relation to the claims of labour and the tenure of land. Is it meant that *as citizens* Christian men should take a more active part in all movements for social and economic reform? Or is it meant that *churches* should discuss these questions; should pass resolutions about them; should raise funds to maintain lecturers and to distribute literature in support of the movement? If all that is meant is that Christian men, as citizens, should do their utmost to improve the social and economic condition of the people, there is nothing new in the proposal. . . . The Church should create in its members an eager desire to lessen the sorrow, the suffering, and the injustice, as well as the sin of the world; but it is not yet clear to my own mind that the Church, as a religious society, should take part in political, social, and economical agitation." Christians must by virtue of their religious faith be Individualists, they can never profess what Dr. A. M. Fairbairn calls "that most pitiful, most abject, most charitable of all faiths—the faith that expects everything from Acts of Parliament."

Christ's method was spiritual, aiming at and working through the individual; His great aim was to develop the life of man all round, mentally, physically, morally; and His way of doing this was to make the man free through the truth. The method of Socialism is mechanical and outward, beginning and ending with the society, and never really

touching the individual; it is merely economic and materialistic; it does not develop life, but suppresses it. The Christian can enjoy and use liberty, and he can tolerate the use of it by others; but the Socialist is always a baby who cannot be trusted with liberty himself, and will not allow it to others. The one is "the Lord's freeman," the other is the slave of materialism. Socialism does not, cannot, understand Christ's great saying: "The life is more than meat;" it denies or perverts it, and says: "The meat is everything." Socialism is a coarse and sordid system at the best, a slightly refined animalism, which always has its eye upon "the meat," upon gross and material enjoyment, upon brutish contentment; the grandeur, the heroism, the Divine potency of life, are hid from its narrow and distorted vision. Christianity says: "Leave the capitalist in full and undisturbed possession of his freedom and his rights; leave the workman in equally ample and secure enjoyment of his rights and liberties; but let both use their liberty and their property for each other's good. Let them be *men* and brothers." Socialism says: "Deprive both workman and capitalist of all they possess, including the highest and noblest possession of all—liberty; let them be no longer free men, but slaves, compelled to do, not what they think is their duty, but what other people think they ought to do. Let them be equals—and slaves." One is the way of liberty and of the highest life; the other is the way of bondage and death. That is not a true brotherhood which rests upon force; that only is true which rests upon love. The Christian ideal of society is that social state wherein every man, loving God as his Father, will love man as his brother; wherein the rights of each individual will be sacredly preserved, but where each individual will, not of restraint but willingly, use all that he is and has in the service of the brotherhood. The law of such a community will not be one of sheer altruism, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and *not* thyself;" it will be the Christian law, compounded of self-love and goodwill—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour

as thyself." In such a society two tendencies will be at work, not antagonistic but accordant, one towards the perfecting of the individual man, the other towards the more complete and harmonious co-operation of the individual men. The latter is the only form of Socialism that is recognised or promoted by Christianity, and it is not only consistent, but co-existent, with Individualism, and it cannot exist apart from it. Where these two tendencies are at work counteracting yet assisting each other, society is in a healthy state.

If it be contended that Christianity, working upon and through the individual, is too weak a force to effect the regeneration of humanity, it must be replied that this is wholly untrue. Christianity was born into a world where slavery was the normal condition, and in which corruptions and immoralities of the most abominable kind were rampant. Christianity destroyed those evils. How? Not by any direct attack upon them, not even by systematic and organised action on the part of the Church, but by the gentler, yet more powerful, operation of spiritual truth, radiating from spiritual men and permeating society. Jesus Christ never said "Strike the fetters off the slave, and let him go free"; but He did teach men to say—"Our Father, who art in Heaven"—which really involved the emancipation of the slave. The Apostles never fulminated against slavery as an institution, or denounced slaveowners: they did what was better, they preached the essential brotherhood of man in Christ, growing out of the Fatherhood of God. Before these glorious truths, Divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood, slavery vanished, as the mists are dispersed by the rays of the rising sun. The policy of Christianity with regard to slavery was one of non-interference; as a social institution it was left severely alone. Nevertheless, Christianity abolished slavery; not by direct attack, but by silently undermining its foundations; not by any form of social organisation, but by burning the truth into the conscience of *the individual man*;

not by the clumsy expedient of uprooting, but by the higher process of putting something better into the soil, which gradually crushed and killed the degenerate growth. Slavery was a worse evil than any with which we have to do; it was more deeply rooted and more inveterate; it was more inseparably intertwined with the ideas and practices of mankind; and it seemed more impossible to eradicate it. But eradicated it has been, though the process was not consummated until centuries after it had commenced.

This is God's method of reform; it is slow, but sure. There is no reaction from it; the territory thus won is never surrendered; slavery can never revive. This method has the further recommendation that it does not arouse the passions and antagonisms of those who are interested in the perpetuation of these evils. "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation," and before they are aware of it the Kingdom of God is among them, and hath wrought marvellous transformations.

As it was with slavery, so will it be with the evils which confront us in these times. What is wrong between Capital and Labour can be put right by the action of Christianity in diffusing a spirit of righteousness, and better put right by that than by any other means. The process is gradual, but it is effective. Socialism would put all things right by the iron hand of the State, by the rough and summary method of compulsion, and in so trying to put things right it would make them more wrong than ever. Human beings cannot be dragooned into right relations towards each other; they cannot be moved by machinery from without. But they can be moved by moral forces, acting from within. Christianity relies upon the power of truth, not upon the power of legislation; it trusts to liberty, not to repression; it deals with the heart, not with the circumstances; in a word it seeks to ensure right action on the part of men by making them right-hearted. Let the employer be righteous and the workman righteous, and then they will treat each other

righteously. Such action will solve the problems at issue between capital and labour more effectually than all the legislation and arbitration in the world. Dr. Marcus Dods relates the following incident illustrative of this point:—"Here is the conclusion reached by one captain of industry who had regularly several thousand men in his employ, and who was often consulted by theoretical economists; he said, 'People have often asked me about labour questions—what solution I had for the difficulties. Had I any special organisation or methods which I would recommend? I have always felt obliged to reply that I had no such methods as would alone suffice to solve the difficulties. Then they have asked me: In what do you place your hopes for their solution? My reply has been: In the strength of a growing and better-educated public opinion, leading employers to feel that the conduct of a large business is not only a question of money-making, but involves serious responsibility. The more this idea of responsibility grows in the minds of employers, and the more it is pressed home upon them by a strong and improving public opinion, the greater hope there will be for the solution of all our labour difficulties. What we have got to do in labour questions is to beat out slowly a problem which can only slowly be unravelled. If we put a right heart to it, an honest wish, and a kindly disposition, we shall succeed. If we attempt to replace these human elements by mere organisation and administration, we shall hopelessly fail.' These are the words of one who probably had as much practical experience of labour difficulties as any man of our generation." Better than Trade Unionism or Socialism, better than Conciliation or Co-operation, is the simple, direct, and faithful teaching of Christianity.

The sum of the matter, then, is that if employers and employed, under the influence of Christian truth, would exercise justice and sympathy and forbearance towards each other, they would not only render all other suggested remedies for labour disputes unnecessary, but they would

render it impossible for the disputes themselves to come into existence. But men will never be thus just and sympathetic and forbearing towards each other until they come under the power of the love and the grace of God. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is, after all, the only effectual remedy for the ills alike of the individual and of society. When men do what Jesus Christ teaches them to do, namely, to love God with all their heart and soul and mind and strength, and their neighbours as themselves, then they will exercise justice and generosity, sympathy and tolerance, helpfulness and brotherliness towards each other in all the relationships of life. Wherefore let all who are interested in the solution and the prevention of these evils cease not to preach and to teach that Gospel which is at once an evangel of peace and good-will to men and a revelation of God's glory.

CHAPTER V.

A SUMMARY AND A FORECAST.

THE author had intended at this point to summarize what has been said in previous chapters, with the view of presenting it in a more concentrated and effective form; but he is debarred from this pleasure by the inexorable exigencies of space, as his five hundred pages are already more than filled, whilst many matters of vital importance still claim and await consideration. He is therefore compelled to reluctantly abandon the intention referred to, and to courteously request the reader to summarize the foregoing facts and arguments for himself, and thus give him liberty to devote his remaining pages to subjects of more pressing urgency. What is written is written, and it must stand and teach its own lessons.

The only reference that need be made to the past is to point out that even since the commencement of this work Socialism has made rapid strides in our legislation and in public opinion.* Everywhere, and in all its varied forms, it is growing apace; growing, not in a quiet and well-ordered manner, as natural and true things do grow, but wildly and rampantly, after the fashion of degenerate growths everywhere. It has been one leading purpose of this work to show that this frightful octopus is stretching its ghastly tentacles over our entire national life, seizing the very vitals of the nation one after another in its clammy grip, and threatening paralysis and death to whatever it touches. This is the monster which we have to fight. To overcome it, and especially to exterminate it, will tax our

* At the last annual meeting of the Social Democratic Federation Mr. Hyndman boasted, not altogether idly, that the principles of that body were pervading English society.

energies to the utmost; for, like some lower forms of animal life, this degenerate product of perverted human intellect possesses the curious and dangerous property of reproducing its species with amazing rapidity. In the animal world there are polyps which reproduce their kind by a gradual division of their bodies into parts, which parts speedily acquire all the deficient organs, and become distinct and perfect individuals. Socialism is a polyp of the intellectual world. Each of its offshoots soon becomes as strong and rank as the parent itself.

Leaving the past, then, let us first of all devote a few minutes to the consideration of the present situation of affairs.

And, to begin with, a few words on the present condition of the working classes in this country appear to be called for. The condition of those classes was never as good as it is now. The assumption of Socialistic writers and agitators that the rich are ever growing richer, and the poor ever poorer, as a necessary result of the present social order, is disproved by all the facts of the case. Dr. Giffen has shewn that during the last fifty years there has been a steady and continuous increase in the rate of wages, not in one trade simply, but in all trades, "ranging from twenty, and in most cases from fifty to a hundred per cent., and in one or two instances more than one hundred per cent. This understates, I believe, the real extent of the change." Whilst wages have thus enormously increased, hours of labour have considerably diminished, so that more wages are not paid because more work is done.* The agricultural labourer has shared fully in this increased money return for shorter hours of labour. Sir James Caird puts the increase of farm labourers' wages at sixty per cent. above the rate which prevailed before the repeal of the corn laws.

Wages, then, have increased, whilst hours of labour have

* See "The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century," by R. Giffen.

decreased. But further, the purchasing power of money is much greater than it formerly was, insomuch that the working man is able to procure a much greater supply of commodities for a sovereign than he formerly could. Besides this, working men inhabit much roomier and healthier dwellings than they did fifty years ago; the death rate among them has considerably decreased; and pauperism is not much more than half as prevalent as it was half a century since. Dr. Giffen states that "pauperism was nearly breaking down the country half a century ago"; at that time the expenditure on poor relief was almost as great as it is now; though the country contained only half the population. He shows that in 1849 there were 1,676,000 paupers, whilst in 1891 there were only 974,421. It is matter of common knowledge that the comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of life have increased during the last half century to an extent that is amazing, and the poor have proportionately enjoyed a larger share of this increase than any other class. Dr. Giffen asserts that: "The rich " have become more numerous, but no richer individually; " the poor are to some extent fewer; and those who remain " 'poor' are, on the average, twice as well off as they were " fifty years ago. *The 'poor' have thus had almost all the benefit " of the great material advance of the last fifty years.*" A well known French writer, M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, says: " Far from seeing their condition grow worse with the " progress of industry, peasants and artisans are the two " classes of society which have most benefited by the increase " of wealth. Of the three factors of production, the three " usual joint sharers in the products of industry, we find " that labour is the one whose share tends to increase most " rapidly; while interest upon capital and the profits of " the employer have decreased with the progress of wealth, " the workman's wages, the remuneration of labour, is ever " increasing. . . . We are witnessing a phenomenon " which is nothing short of an economical revolution—a revolution " to the detriment of capital, and in favour of the proletariat."

Whilst the condition of the working classes in this country has improved so largely as to present a perfect contrast to their condition fifty years ago, the condition of workmen in many other civilized countries of Europe is not even now so good as was the condition of our own working classes half a century since. Most remarkable facts and figures relating to the rate of wages now paid in this country, as compared with that which prevails in France, Belgium, Germany, etc., have recently been published, but space will not admit of their being reproduced here.*

It follows that no revolutionary measures are needed in order to remedy such evils as still remain to be redressed. That there are such evils among us no sane man will deny, and it is the part of true statesmanship to devise safe and effectual remedies for these evils, *in so far as they are caused, or can be removed, by law.* But no violent innovations or exceptional measures are needed, and no undue interference with liberty or dishonest dealing with property ought to be tolerated for one moment on the plea that that the end sought is the amelioration of the condition of the poor. The condition of the poor will never be improved by robbing the rich. What we have got to do is simply to follow the safe path of progress which has already led us to such ample freedom and such abundant prosperity.

It follows also that the demagogues and politicians who are urging a break-up of the existing social order are actuated either by malignity or ignorance. Many of them are too obviously actuated by both. They simply envy

* See Reports of the International Congress of Textile Factory Workers, held at Manchester in July, 1894; also Sir Charles Oppenheimer's Report to the Foreign Office on "Labour Time and Labour Wages in Germany," 1893; also the volumes issued by the Board of Trade giving the results of the census and wages, compiled by Dr. Giffen; Mr. Drage's Reports to the Labour Commission; and Mr. Elliot's Report to the Board of Trade on "The Remuneration of Capital and Labour," 1891.

those who are better off than themselves, and are seeking to use political power in order to despoil the owners of property and distribute their possessions among those who have no right to them. Socialism and Anarchy, we repeat, are at the bottom one and the same thing; they originate in the same motives and they aim at the same objects; and to a large extent they would use the same means. Anarchism aims at the abolition of all Government, and Socialism would substitute despotism for freedom—such a despotism as would infallibly lead to the overthrow of all Government. But as regards the existing social order, both Anarchy and Socialism hate it with a deadly hatred, and would use the most violent methods in order to destroy it. The motto of continental Anarchy is this: “Everything for everybody, from Government to women; war against property; war against families; war against God.” We have shown that this also is the programme of the Socialists.

In every civilized country Anarchy has during the last few years created feelings of perturbation and consternation by the desperate deeds of its votaries, who have striven to strike terror into the hearts of rulers and peaceable citizens. In France President Carnot fell a victim to the dagger of an Anarchist assassin, and in the same country miscreants like Ravachol and Vaillant endeavoured to murder legislators, judges, and other officials by dynamite bombs. In Italy, Signor Crispi very nearly met the same fate as M. Carnot, and in Spain similar murderous outrages were attempted. In our own country an attempt was made to blow up the Observatory at Greenwich, and Anarchist conspiracies of the most elaborate and dangerous character have been unearthed. The result of all this has been to create feelings of unrest everywhere, and to make people feel that they are living over a volcano, which may explode at any moment.

Unquestionably these are results of democracy. Political power has been placed, fully and suddenly, in the hands of people who have not sufficient intelligence or sense of responsibility to use it wisely, and who therefore become an

easy prey to the agitator or the caucus-monger. Yet our statesmen are ever giving more political power to the very people who have proved themselves unfit to use any such power at all, as witness the passing of the Parish Councils Bill in our own country and the recent dangerous extension of the franchise in Belgium. The great rock ahead is the incapacity of the average voter to rise above selfish and sectional considerations, and to use his political power as a patriot for his country's good. On this rock the ship of State may yet be wrecked. England's downfall, if it ever comes, will be brought about, not by attack or invasion from other nations ; not even from the supineness or effeminacy or corruption of many of its wealthier classes (though this is a grave danger) ; but by the shortsightedness of the newly enfranchised electors in attempting to use their united vote as an instrument of oppression and spoliation.

The point from which danger is to be most immediately apprehended is the condition of the so-called unemployed, and the exploitation of these idlers and loafers by Socialistic politicians for their own ends. There is a great deal of mawkish sentiment abroad in connection with this subject which is simply nauseating to honest men. Everybody will sympathise with the really industrious workman who is out of employment and wishes to obtain it, and anybody would be willing to do everything possible to assist him. It is not men of this class, however, who make up demonstrations of "unemployed," indulge in disorder, and denounce capitalists and legislators. The unemployed demonstrations, which are now a regular feature of the winter season in London and other large cities, would possess no importance whatever but for the fact that certain organs and organisations find it to their interest to exploit them. There are indications, however, that this agitation in regard to the "unemployed" will lead to a demand for municipal workshops, which would, of course, be run at the expense of the general body of tax-payers, and would be as complete a failure as were similar institutions in Paris. Already the

Works Committee of the London County Council, has reported in favour of such workshops, and the Chairman of the Council, in his annual address, has bestowed his commendation upon the suggestion. This is an alarming fact. Such a Government as we have now is not for a moment to be trusted on a matter of this kind, and we may any day find ourselves involved in costly and perilous schemes of a Socialistic character. We are in the age of experiment. The new voters are clamorous for all sorts of experiments to be tried, but on the sole condition that they are tried at the expense of property-owners.

The action (or inaction) of the Government with regard to some of these demonstrations of the unemployed is not at all reassuring, for they winked at language and conduct which they ought to have sternly punished. The firebrands who deliberately set themselves to incite masses of ignorant and desperate men to commit outrages upon life and property were allowed the fullest immunity for their evil deeds. Attempts were made by Lord Rookwood, Mr. Darling, M.P., and Mr. Knatchbull Hugessen, M.P., to induce the Home Secretary and the Government to fulfil the elementary duties of an Executive by protecting society against lawless and violent men, but these attempts were unsuccessful, and the preachers of robbery and murder were allowed to go on their way unmolested. Lest it should be thought that this language is exaggerated, we will quote one or two of the utterances to which we refer.

On Monday, Feb. 5, at a meeting of the "Unemployed" on Tower Hill, Mr. J. E. Williams, the organizer, declared that they would have a procession to Trafalgar Square, and would go by way of Fleet Street and the Strand in spite of the police, and added, "If the police dealt blows on their side the unemployed would have chemicals on theirs, and would be determined to use them with the object of sending the police to heaven by 'Chemical Parcel Post.'" Loud and prolonged cheers greeted this statement. Williams then added that all the constables in two lines of

police could be removed by a piece the size of a penny carried in the pocket.

On Feb. 12 this same J. E. Williams headed a procession which visited several West-end streets and squares cheering for the "Social Revolution" and groaning outside the residences of wealthy men. In front of Grosvenor House, Williams, pointing to the building, shouted out, "Comrades, the Duke of Westminster lives here," which was greeted by loud and prolonged groaning. Subsequently at a meeting in Hyde Park, Williams expressed the opinion "that it "would be a good thing if the Duke of Westminster and "other members of his class were dealt with as the French "peasants treated Foulon, and hanged to lamp-posts with "grass in their mouths." He added that a list was being prepared of the persons living in the squares who had not expressed a favourable opinion of their agitation in order that the unemployed might give them "a kind reception."

When Williams was called to account for his language he retorted that he was simply quoting a phrase used some time ago by Mr. John Burns.*

On February 8th, at a meeting of the "Unemployed," the following resolution was carried:—"That this meeting "of unemployed workers further expresses its opinion that if work "is denied them the unemployed are morally justified in helping "themselves to the accumulations of wealth created by their own "toil."

The speakers of this meeting deliberately advocated physical force. One of them said: "We have no quarrel with the "police, but if the police for their few shillings a week "choose to do the work that soldiers do for 1s. 2d. a day, "they must take the same risks as soldiers, and next time "we wish every one of you to take that in your pockets "which will insure that in any conflict all the bloodshed "shall not be on one side." Defining the rights of the unemployed, the speaker said that neither the Bible nor

* See page 34, where Mr. Burns's language is quoted.

any book on ethics or morals condemned the restitution of stolen property, and added: "The shops around you are full of stolen property, go and take it; if you are men you will not let twenty-four hours pass without helping yourselves to your own property." He concluded by stating that twenty-two people had died that week of starvation because the other people refused to give up their property to the rightful owners, the labouring classes, and "because you have not the courage to take it from them."*

The present position of political parties in this country is not calculated to allay the fears of those who are apprehensive as regards future developments. We have already referred to the Collectivist sympathies of Lord Rosebery, the present Prime Minister, and to the scheming by which he was put into the place of Mr. Gladstone, who, whatever his faults, was at all events free from all taint or suspicion of Socialism. A Premier who is in sympathy with Collectivism is a standing danger to the nation. We appear to be on the eve of a break-up of the Liberal Party, and probably we shall witness the rise of what is called "the Labour Party," but which will really be a Socialistic Party, on its ruins. In certain quarters a coalition between the Labour Party and the Liberal Party is advocated in order to avert the impending ruin of the latter; in opposite

* The character of the agitators who are at the head of the New Trade Unionism is clearly revealed by the foregoing utterances. What then are we to say to such language as this from the Hon. Sydney Holland, who said at a dinner of the Hampstead Constitutional Club on January 31st, 1894, that he condemned the tendency in some quarters to abuse agitators somewhat indiscriminately, and added that "John Burns was a thoroughly honest man, and Tom Mann was quite the finest character he knew in any condition in life. These two men anyone might be proud to number amongst his friends." These utterances are significant as showing the state of opinion which now prevails amongst certain Tory Democrats. What can be hoped from "Conservatives" of this character?

quarters the Tory Democrats are urging that the Conservatives should ally themselves with the Labour Party, and thus secure the popular vote and a new lease of power. Everything is in a state of flux. Transition is the note of the age politically. There is no safe standing ground anywhere. Liberal Unionism is an uncertain factor. It has disappointed the hopes of its most ardent friends and admirers upon almost every subject except Home Rule, and its leader, Mr. Chamberlain, is constantly promulgating vague and ill-digested schemes of "Social Reform," which conduct amounts to nothing more or less than coquetting with Socialism, and he is thereby putting a very severe strain upon the allegiance of multitudes of his most substantial followers. Home Rule has receded into the background; it has become a matter of quite secondary importance. Nevertheless, it is allowed to monopolise the attention of great political parties. What will be the good of saving the Kingdom from disintegration if it is to be afterwards handed over to a pack of Socialistic wolves for extermination? If these ferocious animals are to be allowed to batten upon the carcase of the country, what matters it whether that carcase is divided or whole? The first consideration ought to be—How are we to save the nation from falling a prey to Socialism? When the wolves are howling at our very doors there is no time, and there ought to be no inclination, to consider anything else but the one question how we are to exterminate them.

A general election is upon us. The indications are that the present Government will be deposed from office, and that their political opponents will take their places. Suppose this should be the case, what real difference would it make to the nation? Excepting only Home Rule, one party will pass very much the same measures as the other. So far at any rate as the liberties of the people and the security of their property are concerned, they have as little to fear from the Liberals as from the Conservatives, and as little to hope from the Conservatives as from the Liberals.

This is a legitimate deduction from the record of the two parties during the last few years. If the Liberals have inflicted upon us Parish Councils, the Conservatives have inflicted upon us County Councils. If the Liberals have confiscated property and unsettled business relations in Ireland, there are Conservatives and Unionists who are clamouring for the confiscation of property in Great Britain as well. Mr. Auberon Herbert is undoubtedly right when he says: "The truth is that no political party under present conditions, by whatever name you call it, can protect, or really intends to protect, either the property or the rights of the individual. Either of the two parties, if out of office, may make eloquent speeches when the other party interferes with property or personal rights, but in truth the *raison d'être* of both parties is to sacrifice to that entity called the public the rights and property of the individual. Both parties are in the same line of business; both deal in the same wares. They are both suitors for 'pretty Fanny's' hand, and they must both win their way into the affections of that practically-minded young lady by the same presents, the same services." Nor can Mr. Goldwin Smith be gainsayed when he asserts that the fruits of the Conservative victory in 1886 were practically *nil*, as the opportunity then given to the Unionists and Conservatives was frittered away. True, Home Rule was prevented, but that would have been equally the case if the opposite side had won, as the last election proves.

Under these circumstances the citizen who has anything to lose, and who prizes his liberty, may well ask, *Cui bono*? "What is the good of supporting the Conservative party in preference to the Liberal party, or indeed of supporting any party at all?"

It would, however, be a fatal mistake if the owners of property and the friends of liberty were to yield up everything in the spirit of despair, and allow their enemies to work their will upon them and upon the country. The great lesson surely is, not that those who value freedom

and justice should do nothing, *but that they should do something different from what they have been doing hitherto.* Emphatically the duty of the hour is that all intelligent and substantial citizens should be up and doing. Two courses are open to electors of wealth and position. The first is a policy of abstention all round. They are being urged in some quarters to throw up their commissions in the army and navy; to resign their offices in the civil and diplomatic services; in Parliament and the Church; on benches of magistrates, County Councils and Local Boards; in a word, to withdraw their services and influence from every department of the country's life which now profits by them. That would be an effective course, but a very extreme one. Undoubtedly it would cripple the country; but that would be very poor patriotism: it would indeed be an ignoble display of selfishness, and of malignant selfishness, and we are persuaded that the aristocracy and gentry of England can never stoop so low as to take this course, at all events until they have received much greater provocation than they have done hitherto. At the same time, it may be pointed out that if they did take this course they would only be imitating the example of the working class voters in preferring their own personal and class interests to those of the nation. The working classes now refuse to be taxed even for the support of the army and navy, upon which their welfare depends even more absolutely than does the welfare of the well-to-do classes. Only the other day the working class voters declined to contribute anything whatever to increase the efficiency of the navy, and their democratic Chancellor of the Exchequer had to squeeze the money out of the unfortunate land-owners through the Death Duties. And it is practically certain that if the country were to be involved in war to-morrow, no Chancellor of the Exchequer would dare to impose new taxes upon the working man voter. He would simply clap threepence or sixpence on the income tax, and thus make the well-to-do electors pay the expenses of the war.

No. There is a more excellent way. Let those who have something to lose, and who prize liberty as the dearest of earthly possessions, do as they have done, and as they are now doing, with the exception of blindly supporting the present political parties. Let them be no longer deluded by empty names. If they act wisely they will at once, and in the clearest and most emphatic terms, cause it to be known to Liberals and Unionists and Conservatives alike, that henceforth their money, their votes, and their labours can only be relied upon on the condition that politicians keep their hands from picking and stealing. If they will take this course they will be the means of saving all that is best in the present parties from ship-wreck, and what is far more important, they will also be the means of preventing the sacrifice of the country to that hideous idol—Socialism. Let them keep at the centre of affairs so that they may be able in the day of trial to use the army and navy for patriotic ends. It is only too likely that occasion for their services will arise before long; for it is the opinion of many careful observers that what is called “the labour problem” will now be solved only by physical force. However this may be, the dangers upon us are sufficiently grave and alarming to warrant all lovers of freedom and all defenders of property in closing up their ranks in one solid phalanx. To quote Mr. Auberon Herbert again:—

“Those persons who are seriously determined that property shall not be thrown into the public melting-pot must practically (they may still call themselves Liberals or Conservatives, if it amuses them) separate themselves from both the present political parties, and organize themselves for distinct and definite ends. All political parties, as at present organized, are mere devices for befooling their members, and for using them up in the great game, as long as there is anything left to use in them. They are mere open dens for plucking the pigeons. Step by step, carried on by their own crowd, overpowered by the rush of the great forces round them, and having lost

all faith in their own personal initiative, the members of each party are led on to positions that they never intended to occupy, and which, if looked at calmly and deliberately, would only inspire disgust and contempt in them. That not very glorious farce should now be brought to its end. It is time to recognise how great an extension this last Session has given to the evil principle that property belongs not to the owner—that shadowy person of almost mythical existence—but to the non-owner, the man who is good enough to vote at the poll and record there his valuable opinion as to what should be taken to-day, and what should be left for to-morrow. It is time to recognize that it was the foolish trifling of Conservative Governments in past years that made smooth the way for our successful Malwood buccaneer. It is time now, in a word, that there should be ‘a revolt of the rich.’ There are moments in the national life when not to have the courage to stand upon and maintain your own rights is to fail in your truest duty to the whole community; when to drift in indifference and apathy, whether under a sense of fatalism or under the guidance of an unreal sentimentalism, is the worst public treason of which a man can be guilty; and such a moment has now come. It is the duty of the rich to resist with their whole power the State appropriation of property. If they do not do it to-day by peaceful moral means, they will be engaged to-morrow in doing it by those other means which spell infinite disaster for all concerned. They owe it far less to themselves than to the great social interests that belong to all, but in great measure are intrusted to them. Having possessed all the enjoyments and refinements of property, they are marked out as the front-fighters of the battle, and they should not flinch from the task that falls to them. They must not be content any more to be the playthings and pawns of political parties. Actively and individually they must organize themselves on definite principles for definite ends.”

A “revolt of the rich” is indeed the one thing necessary

in the present crisis of our history. Let them refuse to be any longer fooled by politicians of any name or party; let them refuse longer to find the sinews of war for those who turn their guns against them; let their motto be—"No alliance with Labour parties, whether they come in Liberal or Conservative guise; no quarter to Socialism, in any of its forms." Let both Liberals and Conservatives who believe in liberty and in honesty rally to the support of freedom and justice and morality.

Let us not be misunderstood, however. Although we deem the present situation to be grave and critical in the extreme, and fraught with perils to the highest interests of the nation, we are not disposed to take a pessimistic view. As regards this grand old country of ours, our motto is—"Nil Desperandum." When Adam Smith was informed by Mr. Sinclair, towards the close of the American War, that Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga, and when Sinclair insisted that if things went on no better the nation must be ruined, the philosopher calmly replied: "Be assured, my young friend, there is a great deal of ruin in a nation." There is a great deal of ruin in Old England. It will take much to ruin her. But it may be done. We are not afraid of democracy. With Hamilton, one of the framers of the American Constitution, we believe that "the disease upon us is democracy," and that it is our business to checkmate it. Lord Sherbrooke predicted some years ago that we were on the eve of a "frightful democracy." It has come, and frightful enough it truly is. Nevertheless, intelligence and property can hold their own under any system if they like to put forth their power, and there is nothing to fear as regards the future of England, if the educated and propertied classes will simply do their duty. Sitting at ease with folded arms, or sulking in their tents, will not do; they must put on the whole armour and come forth into the battlefield, giving no quarter to their hereditary foes, and knowing no rest until those foes are vanquished. The men whose patron saint is St. George need not fear even

Socialism. That is indeed the dragon which they have to fight, and a hissing, glaring, venomous, open-mouthed monster it is. At present it forms a saddle upon which the very devil himself is riding; whilst he is leading multitudes of our countrymen captive at his will. But this is a temporary aberration. The forces of intelligence are not vanquished yet; nor are the resources of reason and morality exhausted. In the brighter day that shall yet surely dawn, humanity will be emancipated from the thrall and rescued from the blight of Socialistic error. The Dragon, with the Old Serpent who is now using it as his instrument, shall be cast down into hell ten thousand fathoms deep, amid the execrations of the multitudes whom it has enslaved, terrorised, deluded, and accursed.

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